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THE SPEAKER.

Bolt-court, 8. January, 1833.

It would seem to be beneath one to put pen to paper upon this subject, and especially to make it a prominent and leading subject of discussion in the *Register*, and at a time, too, when so many other matters of apparently so much greater importance press forward and demand notice. But, trifling as the thing is in *itself*, it becomes of vast importance when it becomes the *criterion* of the manner in which it is supposed that the King's servants mean to treat the new House of Commons; and especially, if we look upon it as a first step towards that junction of the *two factions*, who have, for so many years, been tearing the country to pieces by their wrangling for the profits attached to the carrying on of the system. For some time the re-choosing or re-appointment of MANNERS SUTTON, as Speaker of the House of Commons, was a mere rumour. Very gentle feelers were put out; but nothing in anything like a positive tone. By degrees the parties became bolder; until at last, in the old *Times* newspaper, which has for some time been the main organ of the King's servants, it was openly announced, and not only justified, but applauded, in the following words:

"Mr. Manners Sutton has accepted
"the offer of Ministers to secure, as far
"as their influence in the House of
"Commons can secure, his election to
"the Speakership. We see nothing
"objectionable in this. Mr. Sutton is
"a gentleman every way fitted for the

"office of presiding over the debates of
"a mixed assembly of disputants; his
"courtesy checks the petulant, his
"firmness controls the impudent, and
"his good sense, combined with know-
"ledge, ensures an unreluctant acqui-
"escence in all his decisions. Add to
"this, that his re-appointment will save
"the retiring salary of 4,000*l.* a year,
"at the same time that it gives to a
"new Parliament, consisting of at least
"one-half of new members, the advan-
"tage of an experienced master in all
"those necessary forms which govern
"and prevent 'a mob of gentlemen'
"from committing those extravagances
"which they would, like any other
"mob, commit, if they were not re-
"strained by rational rules rationally
"enforced; and we really think that a
"better Speaker could not be chosen."

This is very pretty talk! The people have, at this rate, given themselves a great deal of trouble for nothing; for a great many of the main questions appear to be already *settled* beforehand. The King's servants, who are paid by the people, have regularly and distinctly announced to the people, in the most public manner, by Lord ALTHORP in NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, SPRING RICE at CAMBRIDGE (ah, Spring! Spring!), the great STANLEY in LANCASHIRE, and he of the Bright Sword, in CUMBERLAND, that it is *determined on*, that we are not to have any but Septennial Parliaments; that we are not to have voting by ballot; and, now it is announced to us, in a manner almost equally official and positive, that the late Speaker is again to be Speaker, though opposed to the Reform Bill to the very last moment. So that we have it almost from one end of the kingdom to the other, announced to us *ex officio*, that the men whom we poor silly creatures think to be, and whom we actually call, *our representatives*, are expected to be nothing more than so many furze fagots, each tied round with a hazel withe, and that are to be entitled

to no more respect than any stack of such fagots (which they call *bavins*) that you see standing about upon the skirts of the commons in Surrey. A great deal of trouble, then, have we been giving our silly selves for no useful purpose whatsoever. For a great many years past, all sensible men have said, and the people have sometimes said in their petitions, and, indeed, Lord GREY's petition of 1793, did, in substance, say, that to assemble the House of Commons was a mere *useless and expensive mockery*. Now we were expecting it to be otherwise : but, if we be to behold the House of Commons thus dictated to by the servants of the King ; if we be to be told beforehand, that the House of Commons *shall* do this, and *shall not* do that ; then, if anything can be worse and more degrading to us than a useless mockery, that worse thing we shall have.

Now, with regard to the Speaker, I will first insert a pretty long article of my dignitary, Dr. BLACK ; for I do not mean that this *member of parliamentship* shall at all diminish my prerogative of making dignitaries, and holding them responsible to me. Mr. LAWLESS proclaimed me "MONARCH OF THE PRESS;" and, without inquiring into his right to issue such proclamation, I have assumed the title, and, therefore, am monarch *de facto* ; for I exercise the functions of the office, as far as the most rebellious disposition and conduct of my subjects will permit me ; and though poor monarch was never cursed with such a set of subjects before, female as well as male, still I do contrive to control them to a certain degree, and I am and I will be their sovereign *de facto*, *member of parliamentship* notwithstanding ; and I have a right, in such my capacity, to take their literary productions, and to make what use of them I please ; while they, if they were dutiful subjects as they ought to be, would take care to keep their purloining hands off from mine, instead of regarding them, as they seem to do, as their common property. In virtue of this my undoubted right, bounded on the law of nature, as well as on the doctrine of all the civilians, I

take the following article from the pen of my dignitary, Dr. BLACK, as it appears in his paper of the 8. instant. It is long, but it is very interesting, as it contains a full development of the feelings of a very considerable portion of the persons on whose support the *King's servants*, who have, by the servile language of the day, been sublimated into "MINISTERS," rely, in carrying on the affairs of the country ; or, more properly speaking, in *taking the money of the people, and using it according to their pleasure*. This very considerable portion of the persons, whom the servants of the King rely on, consists of those whom I call *disappointed and discontented Whigs*. Generally speaking, their disappointment and discontent are by no means either unjust or unreasonable. They may be blamed for having entertained any expectation of better things ; and they may be so blamed by me in particular, because I have always told them, that, to expect other than that which they have found, was folly approaching to insanity. I have always, without any one single deviation in the course of my life, acted upon the maxim of "blessed are they who expect nothing, but that which is to come out of their own individual exertions ; for they shall experience no disappointment from the conduct of either fools or knaves." This precept I have taught ever since I have had the power of teaching. In almost every work that I have ever written, and especially in my "ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN," oh, what pains have I taken to induce them to rely solely upon their own sobriety and industry, their abstinence from useless expense, and their practice of the other concurrent virtues ; and never, oh, never ! to dream of the possibility of acquiring wealth, or even obtaining the means of comfort, through the favour or indulgence of others ; and to shun, as they would flee from the pestilence, the hope of rising in the world, or even of having a living, through the means of those who had public money to bestow. Many things have concurred to place me in the state in which I now

stand : great sobriety, singular abstinence from excess in eating, early rising, rare bodily health, strength, and hardihood ; and an aptitude to labour, and a willingness and a delight in it, such as belong to very few men ; besides which, a disposition never to submit to any unjust aggression, and to resent wrong done to me, be the consequences to myself what they might. But, with all these qualities, I should have been, at this day, a poor creeping thing, and very likely a disappointed and discontented Whig ; with all the temptations which I have had to become an expectant and a dependant, I should at this day have been a perfectly insignificant thing, if God's goodness, seconded by the example of my father, had not implanted in my breast, and made a part of my very nature, a something to make me shudder at the thought of being a subservient underling to any man or set of men, for any purpose or to answer any end whatsoever.

Yet, I do not say that these disappointed and discontented Whigs are, either the whole or any considerable part of them, persons to be disregarded and despised. Much depends, when we have to estimate the character and conduct of men, upon education and upon habit. Most men, who have meddled with public matters, have ranged themselves with one or the other of the parties who have so long been scrambling for the powers of the State. When, therefore, a Whig, who, at last, sees his party in power, finds his long and patient attachment rewarded by an open and flagrant preference being given to the bitterest foes of his own party, I do not say that he is to blame for his discontent, and I do not think it just to impute it to any unworthy motive. And there are a very considerable number of very worthy men in this state of disappointment and discontent ; and of these men, my dignitary, Dr. BLACK, is the organ ; neither they nor the Doctor having yet been able to discover that, of all the persons whom the men in power most dislike and most hate, these discontented Whigs occupy the first place. Those who are in power hate

all their opponents ; but they hate them more than any of the rest, because they have injured them ; because they have done them a wrong, which it is not their interest to redress. These discontented Whigs, though aided by the sagacity of Dr. BLACK, have not yet been able to discover that there is *no hope* for them. Like the jilted, but infatuated lover, they cling to the deceiver ; a nod and a smile, though in a street where there is no witness, hold them on, while they actually see the leaders of the two factions tumbling into the same bed ! They are more incredulous, have more of the political wittol, than an ostler whom I once heard of in a country town that shall be nameless, who saw the landlord's feet sticking out at the bottom of the bed-clothes which covered his beloved, and who, thinking the feet not sufficient evidence of her want of fidelity, actually married the virgin the next week. The discontented Whigs far surpass this confiding ostler, for they actually see the parties sighing and almost dying for love in each other's arms. Moles are said to be blind ; but a set of moles, if the present circumstances were placed before them, would see that these two factions *have made a bargain* to stand by one another, in order to uphold the present system of taking and using the people's money ; they have made a bargain to keep down all their opponents, and amongst the rest, and more especially, the discontented Whigs.

With regard to their succeeding in this ; with regard to the fulfilment of this bargain, of which the re-election of the Speaker is probably part and parcel ; with regard to *this matter*, there is a good deal yet to say ; and some of that I intend to say when I have inserted the above-mentioned article of my dignitary ; and when (as I hope will be the case) my reader shall have gone through it with a degree of attention worthy of its importance, bearing in mind, as he proceeds, that it is the real legitimate and official manifesto of the DISCONTENTED WHIGS.

" The *election* by the members of the " first reformed House of Commons of

" a Speaker, of enlightened political
 " opinions, representing the spirit and
 " sentiments of the newly-constituted
 " legislature, is a matter of great im-
 " portance; and the conduct of Lord
 " Grey's Cabinet, directing the influence
 " of Government in the appointment,
 " will be rigidly and severely scrutinized
 " by the country. We know that the
 " rumours in question have created
 " great political excitement, and no or-
 " dinary surprise. The continuance of
 " men of Tory sentiments in office,
 " trust, and power—the frequent ap-
 " pointment of persons of adverse poli-
 " tical opinions to vacant places and
 " Government patronage, have been no-
 " toriously and justly subjects of public
 " complaint against the present admin-
 " istration; especially when the re-
 " formers have observed no great indis-
 " position to advance the relations and
 " personal adherents of Ministers to lu-
 " crative official and permanent situa-
 " tions. The Tory Lord Lieutenants
 " have been allowed to reign dominant
 " in their several provinces, and undis-
 " turbedly to nominate, for two years,
 " Conservatives to every magisterial
 " and municipal office. Tory bishops
 " have been generously and simply in-
 " vested with the deputation of dispos-
 " ing of the Lord Chancellor's church
 " preferment most locally offensive to
 " the reformers. The consequences of
 " this miserable and mistaken policy
 " have been sorely felt by the country,
 " and was injuriously visited on the li-
 " beral candidates at the recent general
 " election. Nearly two hundred of the
 " members of the late Parliament ho-
 " nestly and opportunely remonstrated
 " with a leading member of the admin-
 " istration against this execrable poli-
 " tical suicide of the Whigs, in a pri-
 " vate but subscribed remonstrance.
 " The palpable policy of Lord Grey
 " is to confide in public opinion,
 " and to be guided by its power
 " and influence; *that* basis is the
 " only foundation of his Cabinet. A
 " temporising policy, and a cunning
 " consultation of the 'art of govern-
 " ment' of his enemies, may meet pre-
 " sent party emergencies; but assuredly

" an extreme fear of the machinations
 " of the Tories, and constant fencing to
 " ward off instead of to destroy their
 " power, will terminate in the downfall
 " of the administration. It is an old
 " political axiom, that a temporiser—a
 " trimmer—one who complies with
 " times and occasions—enjoys but a
 " brief political existence. The tricks
 " and devices of a metropolitan club, or
 " Tory *clique*, may demand contraven-
 " tion, but the opinion of a nation calls
 " for far more observation and respect.
 " The state of parties in this country is
 " extraordinary and unparalleled. The
 " Tories—if Lord Grey will see and
 " believe—are put *hors de combat*. In
 " the reformed House of Commons they
 " will rank as a miserable faction. The
 " House of Lords *must* conform to the
 " representation of the will of the peo-
 " ple, or a 'collision' fatal to the aris-
 " tocracy, must sooner or later occur.
 " And what is the strength of the 'Whig
 " party'? There is no such political com-
 " bination of men, in the former ac-
 " ceptance of the phrase. Nay, the
 " very 'party' is dependent for its being
 " on the life of Lord Grey. No other
 " public man alive, or to be, can rally
 " the forces of the party, or give them
 " effect and power. The Whigs will die
 " a natural death, and attend as mourn-
 " ers the remains of schedule B, when
 " the 'final measure' shall have been
 " consummated. Indeed Lord Grey
 " could not form, in 1830, a 'Whig'
 " administration. His Cabinet is com-
 " posed of various political allies; and
 " infinite is his merit, and happy the
 " juncture of political circumstances,
 " which enabled him, supported by the
 " people, to dethrone the boroughmon-
 " gers. But the sagacity of Lord Grey
 " must teach him that a *juste-milieu* ad-
 " ministration of the Government of this
 " country cannot be long or successfully
 " maintained. His Reform Acts are in-
 " struments in the hands of the people,
 " which the people will use effectively,
 " for the avowed and determined object
 " of effecting a thorough reformation in
 " the administration of public affairs.
 " Practical reforms in every department
 " of 'church and state'—decided and li-

"beral policy in the promotion of active
 "and enlightened men—can alone give
 "permanency to the Cabinet of Lord
 "Grey, or any other class or coalition
 "of party politicians. A new and rapid
 "formation of public character will
 "take place, and the old sets of place-
 "men and office-hunters will be anni-
 "hilated. A *juste-milieu* House of Com-
 "mons may temporarily oppose a drag-
 "chain to the popular movement; but,
 "as assuredly as 'knowledge is power,'
 "so sure will the people, through the
 "breach recently effected in the citadel
 "of the boroughmongers, storm the
 "fortress of corruption. We have made
 "these preliminary observations in re-
 "lation to the re-appointment of Mr.
 "Manners Sutton to the speakership of
 "the reformed Parliament. Some of
 "our liberal contemporaries—no doubt
 "properly instructed—are bravely de-
 "fending the intention of this most ex-
 "traordinary and disgusting re-appoint-
 "ment of a Tory President of the new
 "House of Commons. We say, dis-
 "gusting, because it is a monstrous
 "violation of the constitution that a
 "British Cabinet should be pre-arrang-
 "ing the appointment of the Speaker of
 "a British reformed Parliament, and a
 "press announcing the selection of the
 "individual for that responsible *elective*
 "office, one calendar month before even
 "the members of the legislature have
 "met together! We cannot, and will
 "not, believe these malicious reports.
 "They are doubtless, the spawn of
 "the Dutch fabrications of the Tories,
 "created to take the place of the last ex-
 "ploded lies of the Conservatives. Now
 "what are the facts connected with the
 "retirement of Mr. Manners Sutton?
 "Unquestionably, the Ministry, at the
 "end of the last session, intended that
 "the ex-Speaker should close his pre-
 "sidential career. Lord Althorp, the
 "leader of the House of Commons, the
 "acknowledged representative of the
 "Cabinet, on the voluntary announce-
 "ment by the Speaker of his official re-
 "tirement, proposed on the 30. July,
 "that an humble address to his Ma-
 "jesty, that he will be graciously
 "pleased to confer some signal mark

"of his royal favour upon the Right
 "Hon. Charles Manners Sutton, for
 "his eminent services in the six Par-
 "liaments during which he has dis-
 "charged the duties of Speaker of
 "this House,' &c. On the following
 "day Lord Althorp reported his Ma-
 "jesty's answer to the address, 'that
 "his Majesty is desirous, in compli-
 "ance with the wishes of his faithful
 "Commons, to confer upon the said
 "Right Hon. Charles Manners Sutton
 "some signal mark of his royal fa-
 "vour; but as the same cannot be
 "effectually granted and secured with-
 "out the concurrence of Parliament,
 "his Majesty recommends to the
 "House of Commons the adoption of
 "such measures as may be necessary
 "for the accomplishment of this pur-
 "pose.' A grant of 4,000*l.* per annum
 "was therefore subsequently agreed
 "by the House of Commons, as a life
 "pension to the Speaker on his seces-
 "sion from the chair, with the reversion
 "of 3,000*l.* a year to his heir male. Lord
 "Grey, unadvisedly we think, as we
 "have before stated, has refused the
 "ex-Speaker that 'signal mark of royal
 "favour,'—a peerage; which, under
 "all circumstances, is not the right,
 "but the claim of Mr. Manners Sutton,
 "and which would have removed Mor-
 "decai from the King's gate. The ex-
 "Speaker naturally declines to sink
 "into political insignificance. Those
 "who are feared are respected. He
 "retires from Scarborough, and is put
 "forward for the Tory high-church
 "representation of the University of
 "Cambridge, in opposition to, and
 "exclusion of, a Whig candidate!
 "The Conservatives cannot afford to
 "throw away trump cards; and im-
 "mediately on the honourable mem-
 "ber's return, a cabal is industriously
 "commenced, aided by the usual assist-
 "ance of the Tory press, to put forward
 "Mr. Manners Sutton in opposition to
 "Government for the speakership of
 "the reformed Parliament. The Mi-
 "nistry are charged by rumour with
 "usurping the prerogative of the House
 "of Commons, in the nomination of the
 "Speaker; and after their own liberal

Discour



“ candidate for the chair has canvassed
 “ members for the office—and Mr. C.
 “ Wynne has again hoisted his signals ;
 “ report states that the Ministers ap-
 “ plied to Mr. Manners Sutton to know
 “ his intentions, and fell into the trap of
 “ undertaking to support him from
 “ fear ! This is the plain unvarnished
 “ narrative of facts, as currently report-
 “ ed by the Tories and admitted by the
 “ friends of Ministers. The *Times* an-
 “ nounced last week, that it was set-
 “ tled that the ex-Speaker is to resume
 “ his duties. The *Court Journal* inti-
 “ mates the same strange fact as fol-
 “ lows :—

“ ‘ All is definitely settled for the
 “ ‘ Speaker’s continuance in office; and
 “ ‘ we learn with pleasure that *letters of*
 “ ‘ *the most flattering description* have
 “ ‘ been addressed to the honourable
 “ ‘ Gentleman on the subject by his
 “ ‘ Majesty’s Ministers.’ ”

“ The Sunday organ of the ultra-
 “ Tories, *John Bull*, chuckles and glo-
 “ rifies itself on the capital success of
 “ the ruse; and asserts on ‘ credible
 “ authority,’ that ‘ Ministers have writ-
 “ ‘ ten in the person of Lord Althorp, a
 “ ‘ crawling solicitation, that Mr. Man-
 “ ‘ ners Sutton would be pleased again
 “ ‘ to take upon himself the fatigues of
 “ ‘ the speakership—by which we
 “ ‘ augur that the noble Lord will pro-
 “ ‘ pose Mr. Sutton himself.’ *John Bull*
 “ further insinuates that the peerage
 “ was refused the ex-Speaker lest he
 “ should attain the Premiership, or rival
 “ Lord Grey in the Upper House—a
 “ contemptible absurdity; but we should
 “ not marvel if the Tories, buoyed up with
 “ the success of their stratagems and
 “ intrigues, should next attempt *that*
 “ enterprise. The consequence of this
 “ morbid Ministerial policy is now ap-
 “ parent. Lord Grey’s Cabinet must
 “ abandon such temporising prudery—
 “ such ‘ overmuch nicety in conduct.’
 “ The mischief is now justified by the
 “ pretended aptitude of Mr. Manners
 “ Sutton for the office; and our stric-
 “ tures are pronounced illiberal and
 “ groundless, because all parties ad-
 “ mitted the appropriate performance
 “ of the ex-Speaker of his functions.

“ We do concur in the universal meed
 “ of praise to Mr. Manners Sutton,
 “ as the Speaker of the *unreform-*
 “ *ed* Parliaments, when Lord Cas-
 “ tlereagh and Mr. Canning led the
 “ House of Commons. But Lord
 “ Grey will never satisfy the country—
 “ will never content the members really
 “ representing any large constituency—
 “ that a rank Tory is a proper president
 “ of the new Parliament; or that the
 “ *mode* of his re-appointment is any
 “ credit or strength to a liberal admi-
 “ nistration. The temporary saving of
 “ 4,000*l.* a-year will not compensate the
 “ nation for the evils of a Tory Speaker.
 “ It is ‘ penny wise and pound foolish,’
 “ to use a homely English proverb. The
 “ whole business and machinery of
 “ legislation in the Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment require amendment. Many
 “ larger sums may be saved, and much
 “ additional ‘ money’s worth’ secured,
 “ through the agency of a Speaker re-
 “ presenting the spirit of the times.
 “ The incumbent of the chair of the
 “ House of Commons has the power of
 “ much ‘ good and evil.’ The associ-
 “ ations of Mr. Manners Sutton are with
 “ the ‘ system.’ He is, in fact, ‘ part and
 “ ‘ parcel’ of it. Is it probable that Mr.
 “ Manners Sutton will promote expe-
 “ dient and necessary reforms in all the
 “ departments of the House ? Will he
 “ bestow the patronage of the office—
 “ small as it may be, but nevertheless
 “ important—upon Tories or Liberals ?
 “ But the most lamentable and injurious
 “ consequence of his re-appointment
 “ would unquestionably be the success
 “ of Tory plots; it would act as a pre-
 “ mium on conservative intrigue. We
 “ cannot suspect Ministers of such pusil-
 “ lanimity or folly. The speakership is
 “ an office of great responsibility, and in
 “ the tenure of friends or enemies of an
 “ administration is highly important.
 “ To place it in the hands of a back-
 “ bone Tory would be about as silly as
 “ if Marshal Gerard had selected a
 “ Dutchman to be chief engineer of the
 “ siege of Antwerp. Would the Duke of
 “ Wellington, if Prime Minister, now
 “ appoint either Mr. Abercrombie or
 “ Mr. Littleton Speaker ? He is too

"wary a general, and we don't doubt that Lord Grey will recommend Mr. Manners Sutton to the Peerage. Suicide is a horrid crime in the political world."

I have inserted the whole of the above article from the *Chronicle*, in order that my sensible readers, particularly those who live at a distance from London, may be able justly to appreciate the feelings of that very considerable body of persons, whom I call the *disappointed and discontented Whigs*. It appears to me; and, though I cannot see through a deal board any more than my Lord GREY seems capable of doing it, I can see a little further than Dr. BLACK seems to see; and, I repeat, that it appears to me, that these *disappointed Whigs* have only begun to taste of their disappointment. There is scarcely a lord lieutenant who has not furnished better grounds for being displaced than those which were furnished by the Duke of NORFOLK and Lord FITZWILLIAM. But what was wanted more than the opposition of these noblemen to the reform of the Parliament? The people were for the reform; to keep these lord lieutenants and these magistrates in their posts, was to insure a constant hostility between the governing and the governed in every county in the kingdom, and to lay the foundation of civil strife from one end of the kingdom to the other. Of all the things in this world, that which a wise ruler will endeavour to secure, is that which was formerly the great characteristic in England; namely, an implicit, a prompt, and, above all things, a WILLING obedience to the law. Whenever the obedience to the law is reluctant, whenever he who disobeys the law becomes an object of praise, or even of silent approbation with his neighbours in general, the state of things is bad; a species of slavery exists; for, what is slavery, but that state of things in which the mass of the people are compelled to submit to the few by force. Thus, then, the very first duty of the ruler, or rulers, of a country is, TO SECURE A WILLING OBEDIENCE TO THE LAWS;

and, to have this willing obedience is perfectly impossible, if the magistrates, who are the guardians of the peace and the executors of the laws, be notoriously inimical to that which the people deem absolutely necessary to their prosperity and happiness.

All this is so clear; it is so indubitably true; it is so glaring, even to the most superficial of thinkers, that it is impossible to believe, that it has not occurred to my Lord GREY; and, that being the case, he must have had some *very powerful motive* for retaining in their offices the present lord lieutenants and justices of the peace, every man of whom, who was even suspected of being hostile to parliamentary reform ought to have been instantly dismissed. And, what WRONG would have been done to any of these lords and gentlemen? None at all; for, in the first place, they everlastingly remind us that they serve for nothing; that they take trouble upon them for the public good. And, there could have been no disgrace, *unless it were disgraceful to them to be opposed to reform!* And, if it were disgraceful to be opposed to reform, then they would have had themselves to thank for the disgrace of dismissal. All this belongs so entirely to the A, B, C, of morals and of politics, that it need not travel to Scotland, nor even go beyond the skull of a Cockney, to make it evident that Lord GREY must have had **SOME VERY POWERFUL MOTIVE**, not to use a power so legitimate, and so necessary to be used upon this occasion, in order to secure a willing obedience to the laws.

Now, not to waste time by mincing the matter, my opinion is, that **THIS POWERFUL MOTIVE** was *neither more nor less, than that of a desire to have the assistance of these enemies of reform, in preventing the people from obtaining those great changes which he saw the people had in contemplation!* Every thing that we have recently witnessed, tends to strengthen and confirm this opinion: the MANIFESTO of STANLEY, SPRING RICE (ah, SPRING! SPRING!), Sir JAMES GRAHAM, Lord ALTHORP, and even the tallow-man

privy-councillor, when he was got snug in at a dinner : this *manifesto*, especially as put forth by Sir JAMES GRAHAM, almost openly tells us, that the two parties are resolved to unite against what is the well-known wish and anxious desire of the people ; and, now, when we are told, in this demi-official manner, that Lord GREY has himself proposed to cause the well-known Tory Speaker to be re-chosen, there can hardly remain a doubt in the mind of any rational man of the correctness of my opinion, which opinion, we shall, I imagine, soon see verified by events.

The city of London are, the newspapers tell us, about to meet, to consider of a petition to the coming House of Commons, praying for a law to establish the *ballot*-mode of election, and also praying for a repeal of the *Septennial Act*, and for a repeal of the *Assessed Taxes*. Agree to *two* of these the King's servants have already plainly assured us that they will not ; and, they might as well have assured us, at the same time, that they would not agree to the *other*. Well, then, they must *oppose these measures* ; but they cannot oppose them without *votes* ; and how are they to have *votes enough*, without the aid of the Tories ? If the Tories only *keep away*, the *cheap-government-men* (for that is the name they must go by) will, to a certainty, out-vote them ; and, then, away go, helter-skelter, all the goodly company upon the sinecure, pension, retired allowance, grantee, and dead-weight lists ; down come Miss Hunn, Lady Louisa, Mrs. BRIDGET FOX and her two daughters, of another name, which I have now (so treacherous is my memory) wholly forgotten ; away they come all tumbling, neck and heels over BURKE'S COFFIN, which still costs us two thousand four hundred pounds a year ; they all go away or come down, followed by three admirals to every ship of the line, and four generals to every regiment of horse and every regiment of foot ; and God only knows who and what besides ! Now the King's servants do not apparently view, with any felicity of feeling, the probability of this rumble-tumble ; and

therefore they naturally look for the aid of the Tories. If this be not the powerful motive, it is utterly impossible for me to imagine any ; and this motive becomes, I think, perfectly apparent, when we take into view the strange and most audacious announcement with regard to the *re-choosing* of the Speaker.

The people of this country have very long been accustomed to receive insults from the servants of the King, such as hardly any other people ever had to endure ; and these insults seem to be the natural fruit of a want of the people being represented in Parliament ; but when the *reform* had taken place ; when the people were to have real representatives in Parliament, it was naturally expected that these insults would cease. Yet, I do not know that there ever was a greater insult offered to the people of this country, than that which has been offered to them in the announcement, that " it is SETTLED, that the Speaker " is to be re-chosen by the House of Commons as its Speaker ; that Lord GREY has written to Mr. M. SUTTON " in a very *flattering* manner ; and that " the right hon. person has accepted of the " offer." Now, with regard to the *fitness* of this gentleman for the office ; with regard to the *propriety* of choosing him ; with regard to these points, I, for obvious reasons, shall here offer no opinion at all ; but, the *choosing* of the Speaker, is, I humbly presume, to be matter for *motion, discussion, and vote* ; and, this being the case, if it be proper, and not almost, *punishable*, if not quite, to make the above announcement, and in print too ; then the first thing that the members of the House of Commons will have to do, will be to " SETTLE " the question, whether they may not as well at once go home again, and leave the King and his servants to make laws and to raise taxes without the assistance of the men who are now called " *members of Parliament* ; " but who, if this announcement be suffered to be acted upon, are no more " *members of Parliament* " than they are mandarins of China. I enter not into the merits or demerits, the worthiness, fitness, or

unfitness, of the person mentioned ; but I insist that, if the servants of the King can announce this thing beforehand, and can do it according to the announcement, the men who will meet together under the name of "*representatives of the people*" will be the most degraded set of men that were ever assembled under one roof, in any country in the world. They will not be "*members of Parliament*," but a parcel of men of straw, made use of by the servants of the King, for the sole purpose of authorising the latter to take money out of the people's pockets.

Let us hope, however, that this is not to be the case ; that this kingdom is not destined to exhibit this scandalous picture to the world ; that the members of the House of Commons will come together duly impressed with a sense of the power and the real dignity belonging to their station, and particularly most profoundly impressed with the great DUTIES imposed upon them by their most solemn and sacred engagements with their constituents ; let us hope, that every man of them will find it written in his heart, that he is forbidden to yield to any blandishments, to any deference which he may feel towards others, to any friendships, to any family ties, to any interests or any feelings of a selfish nature ; and that, were it to be even at the hazard of his life, he is bound to consult, and to consult only, the *well-being of the people of this kingdom*, including all ranks from the king to the cottager. The trust, reposed in each man, is at once of the greatest importance in the discharge of it, and the most sacred in its obligations. In the execution of that trust, one of the very first acts will be *the choosing of a Speaker of the House* ; and, yet, in the face of these principles, so undeniably sound, we see it announced, in the manner before-mentioned, that this act is to be performed without the smallest exercise of the judgment of those who are thus sacredly bound to perform it according to the dictates of justice, and in accordance with the good of the people !

In one respect, however, we are fortunate ; and that is, that we are now within a month of the day when it is to be made known to this long-insulted and long-suffering people, whether these audacious announcements are to be acted upon, or whether they have real representatives in the House of Commons.

WM. COBBETT.

TO

THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 10. Jan. 1833.

MY CONSTITUENTS,

I HAVE received, in order that they may be forwarded to you, addresses of thanks to you, from several places, for your having chosen me to be one of your representatives. They have been transmitted to me, in order that they might reach you free of postage ; and I shall send them to you as fast as I conveniently can. That they give me great pleasure you may easily guess ; and, when I tell you, that one of them comes from the town of WINGHAM in East Kent, and another of them from the city of ABERDEEN, having between them, nearly the whole of the length of the island, you may fairly presume that your choice of me has the approbation of public-spirited men in every part of the kingdom ; and, on my part, it is, I am satisfied, unnecessary to assure you, that, as far as my capacity shall go, nothing shall be wanting to prove to the whole nation that your conduct has been as wise as it was disinterested and public spirited.

I am
your faithful representative,
and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. The addresses that I have received were received from the following places, and in the following order :

1. From WINGHAM in the county of Kent, eastern division.

2. From the town of NEW MILNS in the county of Ayr.
3. From the city of EDINBURGH.
4. From the city of ABERDEEN.
5. From the town of BATTLE in Sussex.
6. From the town of FALKIRK, Carron, and vicinity, in Stirling-shire.

Before I send these addresses to you, I want a little time to think of what I shall do with regard to one or two of them, and especially with those from NEW MILNS and the city of ABERDEEN, which are written in a manner so beautiful, that, in the first place I want them to show people; and, in the next place, I am thinking whether I ought not to have them framed and glazed. The address from ABERDEEN surpasses, in *penmanship*, any thing that I ever saw in my life, and I beg the writer, Mr. A. STUART, to accept of this statement as a mark of my great respect for his talents.

The gentlemen who have sent these addresses have very judiciously made use of paper not heavy; and, where the case required it, have had the names put upon different pieces of paper, and those papers put under different covers, so that, in no case, did the contents of the cover exceed *an ounce* in weight.

This mark of the approbation of your country, my friends of OLDHAM, is a very high honour; but it is no more than what is merited by your conduct, which, from the beginning to the end, set to the whole kingdom an example of cool determination, prudent proceeding, steadiness of purpose, disinterestedness, faithful adherence to your words; and, in short, of all those virtues which, while they merit perfect liberty and the greatest degree of happiness, must at last, if imitated by the rest of the country, never fail to secure the enjoyment of those blessings.

SEVERAL THINGS.

Mr. KINLOCH's election for DUNDEE has given me the greatest possible satis-

faction. It was worth having the reform, if it had been only to get this. This is a new birth for Scotland, at any rate. There will be many good men come from Scotland; but the return of Mr. KINLOCH is a triumph to the whole kingdom. In another part of the *Register* I have inserted two or three speeches, made at a dinner given to him at DUNDEE after the election. I beg my readers to attend to these speeches; they will want nothing further to convince them, that there is a complete political revolution on the other side of the TWEED. I beg then to read these speeches with attention; they are worth reading fifty times over. And only think of Sir GEORGE MURRAY being ousted on nearly the same spot where Mr. KINLOCH was elected! The coincidence, mentioned by Mr. KINLOCH in his speech, is one of those things which Providence has been pleased to cause to take place, in order to induce men to persevere, when their cause is righteous.

The PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE will be found in another part of this *Register*. It will be read with great interest, especially those parts of it which allude to the causes of the *present troubles of this kingdom*. The reader will perceive, that the President warns his own country against suffering such causes to continue to exist there. Every nation has to look to its own safety, and seek to establish the predominance of its own power. The Americans know well, that *cheap government* gives prosperity and power to a country; and they do not like our reform: the boroughmonger-parliaments were the parliaments for them.—N.B. I have just (Friday morning) seen the PROCLAMATION against the CAROLINIANS. I shall send an article on the subject to the TRUE SUN to-day.

The borough of LAMBETH is about to meet to petition on the subject of church-rates, which have, of late years, become a new branch of enormous taxation, rivalling the assessed taxes, and even the poor-rates. At LAMBETH they have got four new churches, while the one that they had was never half filled. This is a new species of raising money

upon the people. It is something like the old *tonnage and poundage affair*. It is laid on on all religions alike. There are three hundred and odd churches in England and Wales that *have been suffered to tumble down*; but the parsons continue to take the tithes with all the rigour that is customary. But, it is the *people* that are to pay for building new churches elsewhere, and the parsons are to have the benefit of these new churches, while they pocket the tithes of the *churchless* parishes. All the great towns are oppressed with these new churches; and, what they ought to do is this: to send a deputy from each, furnished with a complete detail of facts relating to the grievance. These deputies ought to meet in London, appoint a chairman, engage a person to write and state accounts, and make out and prepare to lay before the House of Commons, a comprehensive statement of this enormous grievance; and then, on petition, or by bill moved for, to put it to the reformed House of Commons, *whether the oppressed people of these towns be longer to endure these oppressions*. This is the course that ought to be pursued. In detached questions, in which personal resentment is apt to be mixed up, the matter will come forward disadvantageously. The other mode, besides all its other advantages, will not be attended with a twentieth part of the expense. I can estimate the grievance very well, indeed. I endeavoured to prevent the existence of it at KENSINGTON; and I know well how STURGES BOURNE'S *bills* defeated the wishes of a majority of the parishioners; and I am very glad to perceive, that the populous and opulent borough of LAMBETH, has discovered that those bills can reach others as well as the chopsticks.

TRUE SUN newspaper. I have made such an arrangement with regard to this *evening* paper, as I think will secure CORRECT REPORTS of my speeches in the House of Commons, if the *Times* newspaper, the *Leeds Mercury*, and the other vehicles of the same description, should be graciously pleased to let me make any there, which, I am

sorry to say, they do not, at present, seem to be disposed to do. However, time, which softens every thing except *locust-wood*, may soften their hearts between this and the twenty-ninth of January. Of greedy fellows, the country folks say, "that God may turn their hearts, but the devil can't turn their stomachs." So I have said of the Whigs; and so I hope I may say of these cruel writers. If it were a question of their stomachs, indeed, I should despair, even of the powers of time. If they should permit me to cross the sill of that famous door, without subjecting me to the lapidary punishment of its patron saint; and if I should have the courage to open my mouth there, the *True Sun* evening newspaper will be, I trust, a faithful record of my little doings; and I shall take particular pains, or cause them to be taken, to enable that paper to keep its readers duly informed of every material occurrence in the House of Commons; and also of the state of the matters intended to be brought forward. I prefer this to the establishing of a daily paper of my own; and, such of my readers as now take a daily evening paper, I strongly recommend to take this paper, in preference to the notorious *Courier*, and to that rumble-tumble thing, which has dignified itself with the name of the *Globe*.

My TOUR IN SCOTLAND, including the four northern counties of England, price 2s. 6d., in a very neat volume, excellent paper and print, is just published at my shop in *Bolt-court*; also my ANSWER TO STANLEY'S MANIFESTO, price *Threepence*; also my POOR MAN'S FRIEND, price *Eight-pence*, in a little book, or *Three-pence* in a single sheet.

N.B. All my books may be had of any bookseller in town or country; and may at all times be had in any number of copies of Mr. ENEAS MACKENZIE, bookseller, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE; Mr. COCKBURN, CARLISLE; Mr. RICHARD IRELAND, EDINBURGH; and Messrs. ATKINSON and Co., GLASGOW.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

I SEE that the Stamp Office has been at Mr. HETHERINGTON again, and that he has been condemned to pay *two twenty pounds*, or to suffer *two six months' imprisonment*! Not having the means to pay the money, the imprisonment is to be his lot; and that, too, for selling pieces of printed paper, containing not one single word that an honest and a sensible man ought to have been ashamed of having written. Now, I beg my readers to observe, first, that these punishments take place in virtue of the memorable Six Acts, which I verily believe were passed for my sole and exclusive convenience, ease, benefit, and behoof; second, that the Whigs protested against these Acts as unnecessary, unconstitutional, and tyrannical, with the exception of its being possible to frame them with an application to me solely; that I said, at the time, that they protested against them, because they were SURE that their protest would be of no avail, and that, if they had not been sure of that, they would have been for the Acts and not against them; that the Whigs have now been in power for more than two years, and that they have enforced the Acts with forty times the rigour that their predecessors ever attempted to enforce them. At the passing of these Acts something truly curious took place. Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH suggested, that the Acts ought to contain discriminating provisions, saying, that it was proper enough that they should be applied to a "*certain individual*, in whose fiend-like mind "*the puffing out of bank-notes had been engendered.*" Statesman Canning said, "*that such discrimination, though exceedingly desirable, had been found impracticable after long and painful consideration; and that to get the ignoble beast into its toils, the law must run at the whole herd.*" The result was curious: when the law was passed there were the *Black Dwarf*, and several other publications, rivals to the *Register* in cheapness and in claims to immortality. I knew a game-keeper, once,

who kept a parcel of ferrets at the bottom of a great deep tub, and who, having caught a strapping tom-cat in one of his vermin-traps, had the cruelty to take him home, toss him into the tub, and put down the lid, leaving him to be blood-sucked, tormented to death, and devoured by his ferrets. But when he went the next morning to feed his ferrets again, what was the surprise of the cruel rascal to see, when he lifted up the lid, the tom-cat bounding out and run away, and all his ferrets lying dead at the bottom of the tub! Just so did it happen in the case of the *Six Acts*: the little spiteful, blood-sucking *brochures*, which had always been showing their teeth at the *Register*, dropped dead from the press; while the *Register* assumed, according to law, first its sixpenny form; then its sevenpenny; then its twelpenny; now its fourteenpenny; and has all along pursued its course with the steadiness of the sun: and now, at last, it has lived to see four hundred members of Parliament pledged to take off the tax on knowledge!

Well, then, how useless, good God! are all these trammels! And will the servants of the King go on, creating and treasuring up dislike of themselves and suspicion of their motives; and that, too, without any possible assignable rational motive? Let every one print and publish what he likes: if he publish stupid, indecent, malignant, or mischievous stuff, he will soon find his correction in an empty belly, and a bare back. Let his *creditors send him to jail*, or take away his goods and lay him upon the bare ground, that is the only effectual way of punishing all publications, except such as, by the use of *falsehoods*, are intended to do private wrong; and the law has provided a remedy for that, as effectual as it has provided a remedy to protect men against robbery, or against personal violence. Let us hope, at any rate, that either the servants of the King, or some body else, will speedily do something in the case of Mr. HETHERINGTON; if he have *injured any man*, or been *seditionary*, there is the law to appeal to; but he

is a case where a man's money is to be taken from him, or himself put in prison, without a trial by his peers. Without reasoning upon the matter, one cannot barely *look at it* without exclaiming, "This thing never can go on!"

GARDEN SEEDS.

I, some time ago, notified my intention of selling garden seeds this winter; and I am now prepared to do it. Those who have read my writings on AGRICULTURE and GARDENING, and particularly my "ENGLISH GARDENER," will have perceived that I set forth, with much pains, the vast importance of being extremely careful with regard to the seeds which one sows: and, as to which matter, there are two things to be attended to; first, the *genuineness* of the seeds; and next, as to their *soundness*. The former is the more important point of the two; for it is a great deal better to have no plants at all, than to have things come up, and, at the end of a month or two, to find that you have got a parcel of stuff, not at all resembling that which you thought you were about to have. Those who have read my *Gardening Book*, chap. 4, will want very little more to convince them of the importance of this matter. I have always taken great delight in having perfect plants of every description; but, to get into the way of raising good and true garden seeds, requires that you be settled upon some sufficient space of ground for *several successive years*; and it has been my lot to live under a Government, which, if you take the liberty to differ from it in opinion, has taken care to prevent you, by hook or by crook, from being settled in any place, except one of its prisons, for any considerable length of time. Since, however, it, in a lucky hour, had the wisdom to pass PEEL'S BILL, it has been rather less rummaging; though it certainly *meant well* towards me in the year 1831. I have, however, been suf-

fered to remain long enough at KENSINGTON to bring the seeds of a good many plants to what I deem perfection, and others nearly to that state; and I have taken a little farm in Surrey, partly for the purpose of raising garden seeds upon a greater scale than I was able to do it at KENSINGTON; this year I have raised a considerable quantity of seeds, which I now offer for sale in the following manner, and on the following terms.

It does not suit me to keep a *seed-shop*, and to retail seeds by the small quantity; but to make up packages, each sufficient for a garden for the year, and to sell that package for a fixed sum of money. When I was driven to *Long Island* by SIDMOUTH'S dungeon bill, and when the Hampshire parsons and SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH, chuckled at the thought of my being gone to mope away my life in melancholy, in the United States; and when the famous traveller, Mr. FEARON brought home word, that I was whiling away my life in a dilapidated country house, the paths to which were over-run with thistles and brambles; when Mr. FEARON, that accurate observer, exclaimed, in the language of his brother SOLOMON, "Lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles covered the face thereof, and the post and rail fence thereof was broken down;" when Mr. FEARON, in the fulness of his compassion, was thus exclaiming, I, though he found me in a pair of Yankee trousers not worth a groat, was preparing to sell seeds in a house at NEW YORK, for which I gave fourteen hundred dollars a year. In short, I imported a great quantity of seeds from London, which I sold principally in the following manner:

I had *little boxes* made, into each of which I put a sufficiency of each sort of seeds for a gentleman's garden for the year. The large seeds were in paper bags, and the smaller seeds in papers. In the box along with the seeds, I put a printed paper containing a list of the names of the several seeds, and against each name the *number*, from numbers one to the end: then, there were cor-

responding numbers marked upon the bags and the parcels. So that, to know the sort of seed, the purchaser had nothing to do but to look at the numbers on the parcels and then to look at the list. Many of these boxes of seeds went as far as LOWER CANADA to the north, and into the FLORIDAS, to NEW ORLEANS, and even to the West India islands, to the south; and the net proceeds were amongst the means of enabling me to prance about the country; amongst the means of enabling me to lead a pleasant life; of enabling me to stretch my long arm across the Atlantic, and to keep up the thumping upon Corruption, which I did to some tune.

I intend to dispose of my seeds in the same manner now, except that I shall use *coarse linen bags* instead of boxes. The several parcels of seeds will be put up either in paper bags or paper parcels; and a printed list with the *names* and *numbers* will be prepared; and, then, the parcels and the list will be put into the linen bag, and sewed up, and will be ready to be sent away to any person who may want it.

A bag for a considerable garden; a garden of the better part of an acre, perhaps, will be sold for *twenty-five shillings*; and for a smaller garden, for *twelve shillings and sixpence*. These seeds, if bought at the shop of a seedsman, would come to more than three times the money; and so they ought: for the seedsman has his expensive shop to keep; has his books to keep; has his credit to give, and has his seeds to purchase with his ready money. While, therefore, I have a right to proceed in my manner, he does nothing wrong. By the lists, which I publish below, the reader will perceive that, to the garden seeds I have added the seeds of several annual flowers. They are not of very *rare* kinds; but they are all very pretty; and, even these flower seeds alone, if purchased at a seedsman's, would come, and ought to come, to pretty nearly one half of the money which I charge for the whole. Of some of the sorts of seeds the purchaser will think the quantity *small*; and, of these the cauliflower is one;

but, it must be a thundering garden that requires more than three hundred cauliflower plants; and, if carefully sowed, agreeably to the directions in my *Gardening Book*, the seed which I put up is more than sufficient for any gentleman's garden; and I will pledge myself for the soundness of every individual seed. In the *small bag*, the quantity is in proportion to the price. Authors always want people to read their books; or, to purchase them at least. The reader will not, therefore, be surprised, that I *most earnestly exhort* all those who buy my seeds, to *buy my book, too*, and even then they will not have half so much to pay as if they had to purchase the seeds of a seedsman.

I have only one fear upon this occasion, and that is, that gentlemen's gardeners, who are in the habit of dealing with seedsman, and who are apt to adhere too literally to that text of Scripture, which says that "he who *soweth abundantly* shall reap abundantly;" but, begging their pardon, this does not mean covering the ground with the seeds, which, though it may produce abundant reaping to the seedsman, is far from having that tendency with regard to the crop. *Thick sowing* is, indeed, injurious in three ways: first, it is a waste of seed and of money, of which it is actually a flinging away of both: second, it makes work in the thinning out of the plants: third, the plants will never be so fine if they come up thick. Therefore, in my *Gardening Book*, chapter 4, beginning at paragraph 85, I take very great pains to give instructions for thin sowing; and, if every one who cultivates a garden could see the regularity, the cleanliness, and the beauty, of my seed beds, never should we again see a parcel of seeds flung promiscuously over the ground. It is probable, that three hundred cauliflower seeds will lie in a thimble; and if you want three hundred plants, it is better to sow these three hundred seeds in a proper manner, than to fling twenty thousand seeds over the same space of ground. You must cut the superfluous seeds up with a hoe, or pull them out with your hand; and,

small as they are, and insignificant as you may think their roots to be, they rob and starve one another, even before they get into rough leaf. I know very well, that it requires a great deal *more time* to sow a bed of a hundred feet long, for instance, and with cabbages, for instance; a great deal more time to sow it in drills, and to put the seed in thinly, than to fling the seed thickly over the ground and just rake it in; but, look at the *subsequent operations*; and you will find that, in the end, this "*sowing abundantly*" costs ten times the time and the labour which are required by the method of sowing pointed out in my book. Therefore, let no man imagine, that to have a plentiful crop a great quantity of seed is necessary. When, indeed, you have reason to fear that the seed is not sound, and when you cannot obtain that which you know to be sound, it may be prudent to throw in great parcels of it in order to have the best chance to get *some* plants; but, hap-hazard work like this ought to be avoided, if possible; and, at any rate, I pledge myself, for the soundness of all my seed; I pledge myself that, if properly sowed, every seed that I sell shall grow. Thus far as to my seeds in general. I have now to speak of one sort of seed, which, as that horrible old Whig, Sir Rober Walpole, said of his bribes, "*is sold only at my shop.*" This is the seed of the CISALPINE strawberry: this strawberry, unlike all others that I ever heard of, *produces its like* from the seed; is raised with the greatest facility, bears most abundantly, and *keeps bearing until the hard frosts come*. The seeds are so small that a little pinch of them between the finger and the thumb is sufficient for a very large garden; and the method of rearing the plants is this: about the first week of February, or it may be a little later, fill with fine earth, to within about an inch of the top, a flower-pot from twelve to fifteen inches over; take the little pinch of seed and scatter it very thinly over the top of the earth; then put some very fine earth over the seed a quarter of an inch thick, or rather less. Set the pot in

a green-house, or in the window of any room where the sun comes, and give water very carefully, and very gently, as occasion may require. When the warm weather comes, the pot should be set out of doors in a warm place when there is no heavy rain, and should be taken in at night if there be any fear of frost. Towards the end of *April*, the pot may be set out of doors altogether; and, small as the plants will still be, they will be fit to be planted out in the natural ground by the middle, or towards the latter end, of *May*. Then dig a piece of ground deep, and make it extremely fine upon the top, and put out the little plants in rows *two feet apart*, and *two feet apart* in the row; for, though not bigger than a thread, each plant will multiply itself into a considerable *tuft* before the middle of July; and then they will begin to bear, and they will keep on bearing as long as the hard frosts keep away. The very runners which proceed from these plants, will take root, blow, and have ripe fruit, during the first autumn. When the bearing is over, cut off all the runners, clear the ground close up to the *tufts*, and let the tufts remain to bear another year, when their produce is prodigious. But, then you must grub them up; for they so multiply their offsets, and so fill the ground with their roots, that they almost cease to bear if they remain longer. So that you must have a new plantation from seed every year; and the seed you may save yourself, by squeezing the pulp of dead-ripe strawberries in water, which sends the seed to the bottom of the water: you skim off the pulp, and drain away the water, then put the seed out in the sun to dry, and then put it up and preserve it for sowing in the winter. There is a *red* sort and a *white* sort, which you may keep separate or sow them and plant them promiscuously. And, now, to do justice to Sir CHARLES WOLSLEY, who is my teacher as to this piece of knowledge, and at whose house, at WOLSLEY PARK, I saw, in September last, the finest dishes of strawberries that I ever had seen in the whole course of my life. They were served up in a mixed state, some red and some white;

and the taste and fragrance were equal to the beauty. Sir CHARLES was so good as to make his gardener save me a considerable quantity of the seed, which, by the bursting of the paper, became mixed; and, therefore, the parcels of this strawberry seed, which I shall put into my packages, will, the purchaser will bear in mind, be some of the *white* strawberry and some of the *red*. After this long story about garden seeds, which, however, is not so execrably stupid as the impudent babble of the Whigs about having "*settled upon a Speaker* for the next House of Commons," I proceed to give a list of the names of my seeds, and of the numbers which are to be put upon the parcels; once more observing, that a large package of seeds will be sold for *twenty-five shillings*, and a small one for *twelve shillings and sixpence*. A direction may be sewed on the package in a minute, and it can be sent to any part of the country by the coach, or in any other manner, as the weight, even of the larger package, is only about 16 pounds.

KITCHEN GARDEN SEEDS.

- No.
1. Asparagus.
 2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
 3. Long-pod.
 4. Early Masagan.
 5. Kidney (or French) Scarlet Runners.
 6. White Runners.
 7. Black Dwarf.
 8. Dun Dwarf.
 9. Robin-Egg.
 10. Speckled.
 11. Beet—Red.
 12. Brocoli—White.
 13. Purple.
 14. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
 15. Early York.
 16. Savoy.
 17. Kale—Curled—Scotch.
 18. Carrot.
 19. Cauliflower.
 20. Celery.
 21. Chervil.
 22. Cress.

23. Cucumber, early frame.
24. Corn (Cobbett's).
25. Endive.
26. Leek.
27. Lettuce—White Coss.
28. Russia Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Green Cabbage.
31. Mustard—White.
32. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
33. Onion.
34. Parsnip.
35. Parsley—Curled.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Strawberry—Cisalpine.
44. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

45. Canterbury Bells.
46. Catch Fly.
47. China-asters.
48. Clarkia, (very beautiful).
49. Convovulus—Dwarf.
50. Indian Pink.
51. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
52. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
53. Marvel of Peru.
54. Poppy—Carnation.
55. French.
56. Stock—White Wall-flower.
57. Scarlet, ten-week.
58. Mignonette.
59. Sweet-william.
60. Sweet Pea.
61. Venus's Looking-glass.
62. Virginia Stock.
63. Wall-flower.

FIELD SEEDS.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 9d. a pound; above 100lbs. 7d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper

bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10 lbs., 8d. a pound; any quantity above 10 lbs. and under 50 lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50 lbs., 6d. a pound; any quantity above 100 lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner.

TREE SEED.

LOCUST SEED.—6s. a pound.

MR. KINLOCH,

M.P. FOR DUNDEE.

SCARCELY anything ever has, in my whole life, given me so much pleasure as the election of this gentleman. Not only shall we have the benefit of his skill, courage, and fidelity, but his election is a proof that *Scotland* is resolved to do *its duty too*! I beseech the reader to go with attention through the following speeches, and he will want nothing more to show him what sort of stuff Scotland is made of.

PUBLIC DINNER TO MR. KINLOCH, M.P.

The spontaneous manner in which the limited number of dinner tickets were sought after (at the commencement of the year, too, when engagements are rife), was in accordance with the other features which have characterized Mr. Kinloch's election. Few dinners can be got up without the aid of private solicitation and remonstrance: but, in this instance, the number which the Thistle Hall (one of the largest rooms in Dundee) was capable of containing, was filled up without an effort. About five o'clock, upwards of four hundred sat down to dinner—Mr. Christie, banker, in the chair; with Mr. Kinloch, M.P.,

on his right, and Mr. Kinloch, advocate, on his left: Bailie Symon, croupier. The usual preliminaries having been gone through."

The CHAIRMAN gave "The King—William the Reformer," and "the Duke of Sussex, and the rest of the Royal Family," which were severally drunk with the usual honours. In proposing the Navy and Army, Mr. Christie said—We all know, that, according to the British constitution, "the raising or keeping a standing army in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law." Hence the Mutiny Act, as it is called, provides for the existence of the army from session to session; and if the people's representatives refuse to pass this act of tolerance, the army becomes virtually disbanded. Warlike establishments are called into existence either for the purpose of self defence or aggression. It is for the purpose of self-defence alone that I hope our establishments will ever be called into or kept in existence. If self-defence, then, be the sole object of our Government, with reference to military establishments, our insular situation points out a navy as our best means of defence—our best defence against external aggression—the least burdensome, in a financial point of view—and less dangerous to our liberties, against which it can never be turned as an engine, so readily as a standing army may be. (Cheers). Of late years, and more especially since the peace of 1815, the army, for very obvious reasons, has been a more favoured service than the navy. But I hope and believe that sounder views of state policy will now be infused into the Government, and that our wooden walls, and more particularly in time of peace, will be reckoned on as our best and safest means of defence. We know well how jealous our ancestors were of a standing army in time of peace. They looked on it as an instrument for evil, not for good: they considered it inimical to liberty, and therefore they dispensed with it. Politicians of a certain school think of nothing but pointing to steel and bullets as *the grand specific* for every grievance. They forget that the schoolmaster is more humane, more economical, and more efficient. I say, look at Ireland, more particularly in illustration of what I hint at,—where we see our army engaged in what in the collection of tithes: an occupation little worthy of its energies. I have never been one of those vulgar talkers, who extol the courage and conduct of our navy at the expense of the army. I have ever held the British soldier and sailor as equal in indomitable intrepidity. How can it be otherwise? Courage is not an exotic in the British islands; it is indigenous. The virtue is common; and therefore the question is not, where is a brave man? but, on the contrary, where is a poltroon? Wherever the red cross of Britain is upreared, it will ever be surrounded by brave men. (Great cheering). As a Briton, then, proud of the immortal deeds of arms which our army and navy have achieved, I would propose to dedi-

cate a bumper to them; and may the Reformed Parliament legislate concerning them in the true spirit of the constitution. (Loud applause).

The CHAIRMAN—I now give—"Lord Grey and his Majesty's Ministers." We are all well aware, that the declaration of the Duke of Wellington against all reform hurled him from power. A patriotic reforming King wisely called Lord Grey to his councils. Lord Grey's administration being based on public opinion, withstood the fiercest attacks of a desperate faction, strong in power and influence. At a certain stage of the reform measure, this faction vainly imagined, that, in consequence of outvoting Lord Grey in the House of Lords, his administration and reform were effectually and for ever put down. In this belief, the great Duke laboured hard for nine days to form a ministry. Vain and impotent attempt! The majestic attitude which the British people assumed during the glorious nine days of the interregnum, made the hearts of the stoutest of their enemies to quail—Lord Grey was borne back to power on the shoulders of the people, and the reform measure carried; and, as a natural result, provided *sound and practical measures of amelioration are not departed from*, the Grey administration will be the strongest which the country has ever witnessed. An honesty and firmness of purpose, therefore, on the part of the Ministry is all that will be requisite to bring about the legitimate fruits of the reform measure, which all expect, and which the people are determined to insist on. (Cheering). I cannot help noticing the very unlooked-for declarations of Lord Althorp and Mr. Stanley to the electors of Northamptonshire and Lancashire. If such declarations speak the minds and intentions of the Ministry (as they affirm), the Ministry may have a strong majority in the House of Commons; but I predict they will find themselves in a small minority among the people. (Great cheering). But patience is necessary—time and opportunities for explanations are necessary—and these we shall obtain when Parliament assembles. I have therefore to propose a bumper to Lord Grey and his Majesty's Ministers; and may their measures meet the just desires of the people.—The toast was drunk with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN—When the reform measure for Scotland was first hinted at, and without anything beyond probability that Dundee would be included in the list of towns to have separate members, I for my own part looked round with considerable anxiety to see where a fit person could be found, into whose hands to intrust our interests in the Great Council. A man of high character, talent, and integrity, was needful,—such a man, too, who would truly embody the high-toned independent principles which characterise the great mass of the community of Dundee. A moment's reflection alone sufficed to fix on my honourable friend. (Immense cheering). My mind's

eye rested *there*; and truly delighted was I, when the first announcement of his intentions appeared in the *Dundee Advertiser*. (Continued cheering). I embraced the earliest opportunity of imparting to Mr. Kinloch my fixed determination to support him, and subsequently did every thing in my power to encourage and urge him forward in his honourable career. In company with our honourable member, I saw individually not less than one thousand of the THEN prospective electors (now become electors, as Mr. Guthrie has occasion to know), and many of whom I now see before me. I was quite electrified to find, in the course of Mr. Kinloch's visiting, now hinted at, kindred feelings, and kindred views and intentions to my own, appear at every step. Mr. Kinloch was met every where with enthusiasm; and the deep and sincere affection generally entertained towards him became fully developed, and which was alike highly flattering to him, honourable to the prospective electors, and proving the certainty of his return when the day of trial came. The result has justified our early anticipations, and is alike honourable to ourselves and to our member. And as assuredly as the House of Commons ought to be the express image of the people's sentiments and feelings, and wants and wishes, so assuredly, and pre-eminently so, is Mr. Kinloch, as far as regards the community of Dundee. He goes to Parliament, and there speaks the mind, and embodies the wishes, of ninety-nine men in every hundred of our sixty thousand. (Immense cheering). Contrast this fact, my friends and fellow-townsmen, with the solemn mockery which many of us have seen. Some of us are old enough to recollect, too, somewhat of the manner in which *that thing* formerly called our representative was elected. Mr. Campbell of Blythwood, for example, after dining with the Lord Provost of Perth, and getting his vote, drove in from the west, drew up at Provost Riddoch's door, stepped in and obtained in a moment the suffrage of Dundee—(laughter)—he then mounted his carriage, and drove forthwith to Forfar; and the consent of the Provost being as readily obtained there, the election was secured. (Laughter.) Mr. Campbell came and went, and *was called* our honourable member; but none *out of the rotten coteries of the Town-Councils* (who gained their selfish ends by these dirty and disgraceful means), said of Mr. Campbell, God bless him! (Cheers.) Is this the case with our member? (Cries of "No, no!") The high and the low, the old and the young, the bedrid and infirm—aye, even those that are in bonds, are emulous to do him honour! He is hailed as one of those distinguished patriots who ere long will apply themselves heart and soul to remove, by all possible means, the grievances under which the nation groans. Let us then drain a bumper to Mr. Kinloch, our honourable and distinguished member; and may his health and strength be long preserved, that the endearing relation which now

exists between us may not soon be broken. The toast was drunk with nine times nine, and the most rapturous applause.

Mr. KINLOCH rose, and proceeded amidst the cheers of the meeting—Gentlemen, from what our worthy chairman has stated, and the manner in which you have been pleased to signalize the toast with which he concluded, I am not at the present moment better qualified to do justice to my feelings, in returning you my heartfelt thanks for the honour conferred. I trust to your indulgence on the present occasion, and shall remark that, when I first ventured to address you as the prospective electors of this great and flourishing town, I did so upon the ground of my well-known attachment to the cause of the people. (Cheers). I believe I am correct when I state that I have suffered more in that sacred cause, than any man in Britain; for three years and a half of banishment, with all its concomitant inconveniences, is a pretty severe punishment. When I say I have suffered more, I mean more than any now living to witness the soul-stirring scenes which are passing around us; for, when I reflect upon the sufferings of the illustrious Muir—(cheers)—of the mild, gentle, kind-hearted Palmer—of the noble and eloquent Margatot and Gerald—my sufferings sink into comparative insignificance. These illustrious martyrs in the cause of liberty, have long since fallen victims to the atrocious treatment they received from an infamous Government. They are no more: but, thank God, the seed they sowed has not fallen on a barren or an ungrateful soil. The smothered flame of liberty which they cherished, has been kept alive, till at last it has burst forth with irresistible brightness, which sears the eyeballs of its enemies, but which is grateful to us as the sight of the lighted beacon on the hill top to the benighted and tempest-tost mariner. (Great cheering). I, too, had my share in fanning this sacred flame; for you know that, when it was unfashionable and even dangerous to do so, I never swerved either to the right or left, but held steadily on my course, determined to do my utmost to forward the great, the glorious cause! (Great cheering). In my speech at the Magdalen Yard in 1819, I said—"My motives may be misrepresented: As has been the case before now, I shall probably furnish a topic of abuse to the old women of both sexes, who are fonder of picking holes in the conduct and reputation of their neighbours, than of taking heed to their own. I shall probably be called an ambitious demagogue, and other hard names. Let it be so: but neither hard names nor hard usage, shall ever make me shrink from doing my utmost to rescue my country from the state of vassalage and ruin into which a contemptible Ministry are doing all they can to plunge it." Have I shrunk from doing my duty? Have I shrunk from doing my utmost? (Cries of "No, no!") Had I done so, I had not been here this day occupying the proud, the (to me) glorious

situation in which you have done me the honour to place me. I feel—I duly appreciate the greatness of the honour you have conferred upon me; and I can assure you, that I prize it far beyond any honours which royalty can bestow; for, as our own immortal bard sings,

"The King can mak' a belted knight,
A marquis, duke, an' a' that;
But an honest man's aboon his micht—
Gude faith he mann sa' that!"

(Roars of laughter.)

Yes! the King can make a duke, an' a' that; but I must say, that, if he had the faculty of making *honest men*, 'twould be by far the more valuable privilege of the two; for honest men would be useful, and would cost us nothing; but dukes, an' a' that, are not only useless, but a very costly and expensive kind of gear. (Laughter.) As you have been pleased to place me in this very honourable situation, I can assure you that no endeavour shall be wanting on my part to justify the choice you have made. Again, to quote our immortal bard in the words he has put into mouth of the great Argyll,—

'To faction and tyranny equally foe;
The good of the land 's the sole aim I
know!' (Cheers).

The public good, the good of the community at large, shall be my first aim; then the local interests of this my native town; and lastly, the individual interest of any of its inhabitants, when it shall happen to be in my power in any way to be of use to them; and that, without distinction of those who supported me or those who opposed me; for now that the contest is over, I hope and trust that all heart-burnings and animosities generated in the heat of a contested election, will cease and be forgotten; and that we shall all unite heart and hand, in forwarding to the utmost of our power the prosperity of this great and increasing sea-port. (Great cheers). Before concluding, allow me to say a few words on the manner in which my election has been conducted. One circumstance there is attending it, which, I believe, is unparalleled in Great Britain; I mean the gratuitous support and assistance I have received from the gentlemen of my law committee. These gentlemen, it is well known, are not often in the habit of working for nothing—(laughter)—nor would it be reasonable that they should do so. It is sometimes alleged, indeed, though often very unjustly, that they give us, or rather our purses, a pretty hard squeeze. (Laughter.) Gentlemen, they have not done so to me. On the contrary, I am proud to say that they have gratuitously stood forth to assist me with all their power; not from any personal motives, but because they thought, and they thought justly, that *my* cause and the cause of the people were one and the same. (Cheers). To these

gentlemen, I can never be sufficiently grateful, and I beg them to accept of my best thanks. To our worthy chairman, and to all the electors who have supported me, I likewise beg to offer my most grateful thanks. I fervently trust I shall be found worthy of the confidence you have reposed in me; but, should it ever unfortunately prove otherwise, you have the remedy in your own hands; for I have already said, and I now solemnly repeat my pledge, that whenever a decided majority of my constituents shall deliberately make it known to me that I no longer enjoy their confidence, that moment I shall divest myself of the trust, and replace it in the hands of those from whom I received it. (Great cheering). Gentlemen, I have detained you too long; but, I must mention a curious coincidence which has now occurred, and which you will allow me to detail to you. *In December, 1819, Sheriff L' Amy, hoping, perhaps, to make my shoulders a stepping-stone to a certain bench, to which we know he would have added considerable weight, came over here, post haste, to examine as to the proceedings at the Magdalen Yard; and, in consequence, I was cited to appear before a set of prejudiced judges and a packed jury, for the atrocious crime of having said that we needed reform; that cutting of throats was murder, and that Castlereagh was a knave, and old Sidmouth a fool.* (Cheers and laughter). *My counsel assured me I had spoken too freely and honestly against myself, and that there was no chance for me but to move off.* (Cheering and laughter). *I took the advice, thinking it preferable to visit the hospitable shores of France at my own expense, rather than subject my country to the expense of transporting me to the inhospitable shores of Botany Bay.* (Continued cheering). *After three years' absence, I got leave from that consummate statesman, Sir Robert Peel, to return to my family and my home.* (Cheers). *On the 24. of December, 1819, I was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, a rebel and an outlaw. Now, mark the difference! On the same day of December, 1832, I was, by the same Sheriff L' Amy, proclaimed the chosen representative of the people of Dundee.* (Immense cheering). *This is passing strange, but it is no less true; and you now see the outlaw of 1819 transformed in 1832 into the representative of this great and flourishing community.* I conclude by giving you "The electors of Dundee." (Tremendous cheering).

Baillie SYMON (croupier) being called on for a toast, proceeded to address the meeting from the floor; but, in compliance with the repeated calls from the meeting, he stood upon his chair, although, he said, it was a dangerous elevation. His situation, however, was not so critical as that of those to whom the chairman had alluded,—namely, Lord Althorp, and that proud and pert politician, Mr. Stanley. (Cheers). In asking you to drink to the first reformed House of Commons, it will be with the hope that they will be able to maintain a

right position with greater steadiness than I can at present command in mine. (Cheers and laughter). You are all aware that the present Parliament, beyond all previous ones, is characterized by the number and variety of the pledged which its members have come under. Different parliaments have, in former times, and in our own, been called by different names. We have heard of the Long Parliament—the Rump—the Barebones Parliament. Conservative wit had named the last Parliament the House of Delegates. *The present might be called the Parliament of the pledged.* (Cheers). If we do not get good and cheap government, it will not be for want of pledges and professions. Whether, and how far, those pledges will be redeemed, and those professions acted upon, is another and a different thing. (Laughter and cheering). They are pledged to abolish all taxes that press upon productive industry, restrictions on trade, all monopolies, whether of corn or of cash—of tithes or of tea, colonial or corporate. (Cheers). They are pledged to sweep away all sinecures, useless places, and unmerited pensions. They are pledged—but it would take up too much time to enumerate all the measures to which they are pledged. They knew them all as well as he did himself. (Cheering). He would only name one more—the last, but not the least,—they are pledged to shorten the duration of their own existence,—so that a better name, perhaps, than the Parliament of the pledged, would be the Parliament of the Destructives. (Great cheering and laughter). Our ancient political landmarks had been swept away by the tide of reform. Instead of Whig and Tory, we have now Reformer and Anti-Reformer, Conservative and Destructive. Even Radical has given way to the last epithet; and for his part he had no objection to the change. (Laughter and cheers). Byron somewhere says, "Now for a good old gentlemanly vice;" and Destructive exactly answers that description. (Laughter). In former times, if you had told a gentleman that he had raised himself through any other means than his destructive propensities, he would have been highly offended. If you had said anything of his being indebted to trade or commerce for his rise in society, he would have taken it as a very gross insult. Nothing in those days entitled a man to be considered as a gentleman, but murder, rape, and robbery, by wholesale. (Much laughter). In our day, matters are mightily changed. We have witnessed a gentleman resting his claims to your regard as a public man, solely on the ground of a struggle about hemp—(laughter)—a commodity sometimes useful too, in destructive operations. (Continued laughter). He appreciated the endeavours of any individual in such a praiseworthy object; but, in the case referred to, there was another who disputed the merit of bringing the question to a successful issue. We shall leave them to settle it betwixt them—(laughter)—and return to contrast our own with ancient times. Who

will now (in this country at least) embark in a crusade to establish "the right divine of kings to govern wrong?" who will risk life and limb for lawn sleeves, to maintain them in that place where they ought not to be, or peril existence to uphold hereditary incurables? (Loud cheering). Instead of such pernicious politicians, we have now a set of *stand-still* politicians, who are sufficiently mischievous in their way. The Althorps and Stanleys *may stand still if they can*. (Laughter). *They will soon be able to tell if this be possible. Let them take care that, in settling themselves in opposition to the current of events, they be not, together with Dame Partington, mops and all, swept away by the great tide of human improvement*—(loud cheering)—"*with all the lumber of a thousand years*." (Continued cheering). Even the "*muckle black Deil*" himself will lend a helping hand in this work of destruction which Conservatives think so much to his mind. "He will dance awa' wi' the excise-man." He's not "*awa' wi'm*" yet; but he has nearly got him on his back. (Loud cheers and laughter). In illustration of his (Mr. Symon's, not the Deil's) views, he would refer to an old building or buildings, in progress of dilapidation, opposite their town house, which they saw so fearfully packed with human beings on the day of nomination. They all knew the object which the authorities had in view; that it was to effect a change for the better in the internal character of our ancient and venerable town. Some there might be who would look back with regret on the destruction of this once excellent hotel, and to the days of *auld* town council dinners—of the feasts of Presbyteries—and of all the good (*for nothing*) things that are gone—and for ever. (Cheers and laughter). "Fat headed men who sleep o' nights," would doubtless feel their bowels yearn again for the flesh pots of their bondage. But the intelligent looked beyond objects so selfish and so servile. They saw, in the work of destruction, the commencement of a great, a beneficial, and a profitable change. It was thus that he would have Parliament to deal with the obstacles standing in the way of reform. (Cheers). It was thus that he would have them, by the sweeping away of rottenness and corruption, and the removal of weakness and decay, to open up a splendid career of improvement, and prepare a glorious way for the people. (Great cheering). He concluded by proposing, "Our first reformed House of Commons; may its labours be honest, enlightened, and effective."

AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

His Message to the Congress, at the Opening of the Session, 5. December, 1832.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and House of Representatives,—

It gives me pleasure to congratulate you on your return to the seat of Government for the purpose of discharging your duties to the people of the United States. Although the pestilence which had traversed the old world has entered our limits and extended its ravages over much of our land, it has pleased Almighty God to mitigate its severity, and lessen the number of its victims compared with those who have fallen in most other countries over which it has spread its terrors. Notwithstanding this visitation, our country presents on every side marks of prosperity and happiness unequalled perhaps in any other portion of the world. If we fully appreciate our comparative condition, existing causes of discontent will appear unworthy of attention, and with hearts of thankfulness to that Divine Being who has filled our cup of prosperity, we shall feel our resolution strengthened to preserve and hand down to posterity that liberty and that union which we have received from our fathers, and which constitute the sources and the shield of all our blessings.

The relations of our country continue to present the same picture of amicable intercourse that I had the satisfaction to hold up to your view at the opening of your last session. The same friendly professions, the same desire to participate in our flourishing commerce, the same disposition to refrain from resenting injuries unintentionally offered, are, with a few exceptions, evinced by all nations with whom we have any intercourse. This desirable state of things may be mainly ascribed to our undeviating practice of the rule which has long guided our national policy—to require no exclusive privileges in commerce, and to grant none. It is daily producing its beneficial effect in the respect shown to our flag, the protection of our citizens and property abroad, and in the increase of our navigation and the extension of our mercantile operations. The returns which have been made out since we last met will show an increase during the last preceding year of more than 80,000 tons in our shipping, and of nearly 40,000,000 of dollars in the aggregate of our imports and exports.

Nor have we less reason to felicitate ourselves on the position of our political than of our commercial concerns. They remain in the state in which they were when I last addressed you—a state of prosperity and peace, the effect of a wise attention to the parting advice of the reverend father of his country on this subject, condensed into a maxim for the use of posterity by one of his most distinguished successors—to cultivate free commerce and honest friendship with all nations, and to make entangling alliances with none.

A strict adherence to this policy has kept us aloof from the perplexing questions that now agitate the European world, and have more than once deluged those countries with blood. Should these scenes unfortunately recur, the parties to the contest may count on a faithful performance of the duties incumbent on us as a neutral nation, and our own citizens may equally rely on the firm assertion of their neutral rights.

With the nation that was our earliest friend and ally in the infancy of our political existence the most friendly relations have subsisted through the late revolutions of Government, and, from the events of the last, promise a permanent duration. It has made an approximation in some of its political institutions to our own, and raised a monarch to the throne who preserves, it is said, a friendly recollection of the period during which he acquired among our citizens the high consideration that could then have been produced by his personal qualifications alone.

Our commerce with that nation is gradually assuming a mutually beneficial character and the adjustment of the claims of our citizens has removed the only obstacle there was to an intercourse not only lucrative but productive of literary and scientific improvement.

From Great Britain I have the satisfaction to inform you that I continue to receive assurances of the most amicable disposition, which have on my part, on all proper occasions, been promptly and sincerely reciprocated. The attention of that Government has latterly been so much engrossed by matters of a deeply interesting domestic character, that we could not press upon it the renewal of negotiations which had been unfortunately broken off by the unexpected recall of our Minister, who had commenced them with some hopes of success. My great object was the settlement of questions which, though now dormant, might hereafter be revived under circumstances which would endanger the good understanding which it is the interest of both parties to preserve inviolate, cemented, as it is, by a community of language, manners and social habits, and by the high obligations we owe to our British ancestors for many of our most valuable institutions, and for that system of representative government which has enabled us to preserve and improve them.

The question of our north-eastern boundary still remains unsettled. In my last annual message I explained to you the situation in which I found that business on my coming into office, and the measures I thought it my duty to pursue for asserting the rights of the United States before the Sovereign who had been chosen by my predecessor to determine the question, and also the manner in which he had disposed of it. A special message to the Senate in their executive capacity, afterwards brought before them the question, whether they would advise a submission to the opinion of the sovereign arbiter. That body having considered the award as not obligatory,

and advised me to open a further negotiation, the proposition was immediately made to the British Government, but the circumstances to which I have alluded have hitherto prevented any answer being given to the overture. Early attention, however, has been promised to the subject, and every effort on my part will be made for a satisfactory settlement of this question, interesting to the Union generally, and particularly so to one of its members.

The claims of our citizens on Spain are not yet acknowledged. On a closer investigation of them than appears to have heretofore taken place, it was discovered that some of those demands, however strong they might be upon the equity of that Government, were not such as could be made the subject of national interference; and, faithful to the principle of asking nothing but was clearly right, additional instructions have been sent to modify our demands, so as to embrace those only on which, according to the laws of nations, we had a strict right to insist. An inevitable delay in procuring the documents necessary for this review of the merits of these claims retarded this operation, until an unfortunate malady which has afflicted his Catholic Majesty, prevented an examination of them. Being now for the first time presented in an unexceptionable form, it is confidently hoped the application will be successful.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that the application I directed to be made for the delivery of a part of the archives of Florida, which had been carried to the Havannah, has produced a royal order for their delivery, and that measures have been taken to procure its execution.

By the report of the Secretary of State, communicated to you on the 22. of June last, you are informed of the conditional reduction obtained by the Minister of the United States at Madrid of the duties on tonnage levied on American shipping in the ports of Spain. The condition of that reduction having been complied with on our part, by the act passed on the 13. of July last, I have the satisfaction to inform you that our ships now pay no higher nor other duties in the continental ports of Spain, than are levied on their national vessels.

The demands against Portugal for illegal captures in the blockade of Terceira, have been allowed to the full amount of the accounts presented by the claimants, and payment was promised to be made in three instalments. The first of these have been paid—the second, although due, had not, at the date of our advices, been received, owing, it was alleged, to embarrassments in the finances, consequent on the civil war in which that nation is engaged.

The payments stipulated by the convention with Denmark have been punctually made, and the amount is ready for distribution among the claimants as soon as the board now sitting shall have performed their functions.

I regret that by the last advices from our Charge d'Affairs at Naples, that Government had still delayed the satisfaction due to our citizens; but at that date the effect of the last instructions was not known. Dispatches from thence are hourly expected, and the result will be communicated to you without delay.

With the rest of Europe our relations, political and commercial, remain unchanged. Negotiations are going on to put on a permanent basis the liberal system of commerce now carried on between us and the empire of Russia. The treaty concluded with Austria is executed by his Imperial Majesty with the most perfect good faith, and as we have no diplomatic agent at his court, he personally inquired into and corrected a proceeding of some of his subaltern officers to the injury of our consul in one of his ports.

Our treaty with the Sublime Porte is producing its effects on our commerce. New markets are open for our commodities, and a more extensive range for the employment of our ships. A slight augmentation of the duties on our commerce inconsistent with the spirit of the treaty, had been imposed, but on the representation of our Charge d'Affairs it has been promptly withdrawn, and we now enjoy the trade and navigation of the Black Sea, and of all the ports belonging to the Turkish empire in Asia, on the most perfect equality with all foreign nations.

I wish earnestly, that in announcing to you the continuance of friendship, and the increase of a profitable commercial intercourse with Mexico, with central America, and the States of the south, I could accompany it with the assurance that they are all blessed with that internal tranquillity and foreign peace which their heroic devotion to the cause of their independence merits. In Mexico a sanguinary struggle is now carried on, which has caused some embarrassment to our commerce; but both parties profess the most friendly disposition towards us. To the termination of this contest we look for the establishment of that secure intercourse so necessary to nations whose territories are contiguous. How important it will be to us we may calculate from the fact that even in this unfavourable state of things our maritime commerce has increased, and our internal trade by caravans from San Luiz to Santa Fe, under the protection of escorts furnished by the Government, is carried on to great advantage, and is daily increasing. The agents provided for by the treaty with this Power to designate the boundaries which it established have been named on our part, but one of those evils of the civil war now raging there has been, that the appointment of those with whom they were to co-operate has not yet been announced to us.

The Government of Central America has expelled from its territory the party which some time since disturbed its peace. Desirous of fostering a favourable disposition towards us, which has on more than one occasion been evinced by this interesting country,

I made a second attempt in this year to establish a diplomatic intercourse with them; but the death of the distinguished citizen whom I had appointed for that purpose has retarded the execution of measures from which I hoped much advantage to our commerce. The union of the three States which formed the republic of Columbia has been dissolved; but they all, it is believed, consider themselves as separately bound by the treaty which was made in their federal capacity. The Minister accredited to the Federation continues in that character near the Government of New Grenada; and hopes were entertained that a new union would be formed between the separate States, at least for the purpose of foreign intercourse. Our Minister has been instructed to use his good offices whenever they shall be desired, to produce the reunion so much to be wished, for the domestic tranquillity of the parties and the security and facility of foreign commerce.

Some agitations naturally attendant on an infant reign have prevailed in the empire of Brazil, which have had the usual effect upon commercial operations; and while they suspended the consideration of claims created on similar occasions, they have given rise to new complaints of our citizens. A proper consideration for calamities and difficulties of this nature has made us less urgent and peremptory in our demands for justice than our duty to our fellow-citizens would, under other circumstances, have required. But their claims are not neglected, and will on all proper occasions be urged, and it is hoped with effect.

I refrain from making any communication on the subject of our affairs with Buenos Ayres, because the negotiation communicated to you in my last annual message was, at the date of our last advices, still pending, and in a state that would render a publication of the details inexpedient.

A treaty of amity and commerce has been formed with the republic of Chili, which, if approved by the Senate, will be laid before you. That Government seems to be established and at peace with its neighbours; and its ports being the resorts of our ships which are employed in the highly important trade of the fisheries, this commercial convention cannot but be of great advantage to our fellow-citizens engaged in that perilous but profitable business.

Our commerce with the neighbouring State of Peru, owing to the onerous duties levied on our principal articles of export, has been on the decline, and all endeavours to procure an alteration have hitherto proved fruitless. With Bolivia we have yet no diplomatic intercourse, and the continual contests carried on between it and Peru have made me defer, until a more favourable period, the appointment of any agent for that purpose.

An act of atrocious piracy having been committed on one of our trading ships by the inhabitants of a settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, a frigate was dispatched with

orders to demand satisfaction for the injury, if those who committed it should be found members of a regular government capable of maintaining the usual relations with foreign nations; but if, as it was supposed, and as they proved to be, they were a band of lawless pirates, to inflict such a chastisement as would deter them and others from like aggressions. This last was done, and the effect has been an increased respect for our flag in those distant seas, and additional security for our commerce.

In the view I have given of our connexion with foreign Powers allusions have been made to their domestic disturbances or foreign wars, to their revolutions or dissensions. It may be proper to observe that this is done solely in cases where those events affect our political relations with them, or to show their operations on our commerce. Further than this it is neither our policy nor our right to interfere. Our best wishes on all occasions, our good offices when required, will be afforded to promote the domestic industry and foreign peace of all nations with whom we have any intercourse. Any intervention in their affairs further than this, even by the expression of an official opinion, is contrary to our principles of international policy, and will always be avoided.

The report which the Secretary of the Treasury will in due time lay before you will exhibit the national finances in a highly prosperous state. Owing to the continued success of our commercial enterprise, which has enabled the merchants to fulfil their engagements with the Government, the receipts from customs during the year will exceed the estimate presented at the last session, and with the other means of the Treasury will prove fully adequate, not only to meet the increased expenditure resulting from the large appropriations made by Congress, but to provide for the payment of all the public debt which is at present redeemable. It is now estimated that the customs will yield to the Treasury, during the present year, upwards of twenty-eight millions dollars. The public lands, however, have proved less productive than was anticipated, and according to present information, will not much exceed two millions dollars. The expenditures for all objects other than the public debt are estimated to amount during the year to about sixteen millions five hundred thousand dollars, while a still larger sum, viz. eighteen millions dollars will have been applied to the principal and interest of the public debt.

It is expected, however, that in consequence of the reduced rates of duty which will take effect after the 3. of March next, there will be a considerable falling off in the revenue from customs in the year 1833. It will, nevertheless, be amply sufficient to provide for all the wants of the public service, estimated even upon a liberal scale, and for the redemption and purchase of the remainder of the public debt. On the 1. of January next the entire

public debt of the United States, funded and unfunded, will be reduced to within a fraction of 7,000,000 dollars; of which 2,227,263 dollars are not of right redeemable until the 1. of January, 1834, and 4,735,296 dollars not until the 2 of January, 1835. The Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, however, being invested with full authority to purchase the debt at the market price, and the means of the Treasury being ample, it may be hoped that the whole will be extinguished within the year 1833.

I cannot too cordially congratulate the Congress and my fellow-citizens on the near approach of that memorable happy event, the extinction of the public debt of this great and free nation. Faithful to the wise and patriotic policy marked out by the legislation of the country for this object, the present Administration has devoted to it all the means which a flourishing commerce has supplied, and a prudent economy preserved for the public Treasury. Within the four years for which the people have confided the executive power to my charge, 58,000,000 dollars will have been applied to the payment of the public debt. That this has been accomplished without stinting the expenditure for all other proper objects will be seen by reference to the liberal provision made during the same period for the support and increase of our means of maritime and military defence, for internal improvements of a national character for the removal and preservation of the Indians, and lastly for the gallant veterans of the revolution.

The final removal of this great burden from our resources affords the means of further provision for all the objects of general welfare and public defence which the constitution authorises, and presents the occasion for such further reduction in the revenue as may not be required for them. From the report of the Secretary of the Treasury it will be seen that after the present year such a reduction may be made to a considerable extent, and the subject is earnestly recommended to the consideration of Congress, in the hope that the combined wisdom of the representatives of the people will devise such means of effecting the salutary object as may remove those burdens which shall be found to fall unequally upon any, and as may promote all the great interests of the community.

Long and patient reflection has strengthened the opinions I have heretofore expressed to the Congress on this subject, and I deem it my duty on the present occasion to urge them upon the attention of the legislature. The soundest maxims of public policy, and the principles upon which our republic institutions are founded, recommend a proper adaptation of the revenue to the expenditure, and they also require that the expenditure shall be limited to what by an economical administration shall be consistent with the simplicity of the Government, and necessary to an efficient public service. In effecting this adjustment, it is due in justice to the interests of the other

States, and even to the preservation of the Union itself, that the protection afforded by existing laws to any branches of national industry should not exceed what may be necessary to counteract the regulations of foreign nations, and to secure a supply of those articles of manufacture, essential to the national independence and safety in time of war. If, upon investigation, it shall be found, as it is believed it will be, that the legislative protection granted to any particular interest is greater than is indispensably requisite for those objects, I recommend that it be gradually diminished, and that, as far as may be consistent with these objects, the whole scheme of duties be reduced to the revenue standard, as soon as a just regard to the faith of the Government and to the preservation of the large capital invested in establishments of domestic industry will permit.

That the manufactures adequate to the supply of our domestic consumption would, in the abstract, be beneficial to our country, there is no reason to doubt; and to effect their establishment there is, perhaps, no American citizen who would not for awhile be willing to pay a higher price for them. But for this purpose it is presumed that a tariff of high duties, designed for perpetual protection, has entered into the minds of but few of our statesmen. The most they have anticipated is a temporary and generally incidental protection, which they maintain has the effect to reduce the price by domestic competition below that of the foreign article. Experience, however, our best guide on this, as on other subjects, makes it doubtful whether the advantages of this system are not counterbalanced by many evils, and whether it does not tend to beget in the minds of a large portion of our countrymen a spirit of discontent and jealousy dangerous to the stability of the Union.

What, then, shall be done? Large interests have grown up under the implied pledge of our natural legislation, which it would seem a violation of public faith suddenly to abandon. Nothing could justify it but the public safety, which is the supreme law; but those who have vested their capital in manufacturing establishments cannot expect that the people will continue permanently to pay high taxes for their benefit when the money is not required for any legitimate purpose in the administration of the Government. Is it not enough that the high duties have been paid as long as the money arising from them could be applied to the common benefit in the extinguishment of the public debt?

Those who take an enlarged view of the condition of our country must be satisfied that the policy of protection must be ultimately limited to those articles of domestic manufacture which are indispensable to our safety in time of war. Within this scope, on a reasonable scale, it is recommended by every consideration of patriotism and duty, which

will doubtless always secure to it a liberal and efficient support. But beyond this subject we have already seen the operation of the system productive of discontent. In some sections of the Republic its influence is deprecated as tending to concentrate wealth into a few hands, and as creating those germs of dependence and vice which in other countries have characterized the existence of monopolies and proved so destructive of liberty and the general good. A large portion of the people in one section of the country declares it not only inexpedient on these grounds, but as disturbing the equal relations of property by legislation, and therefore unconstitutional and unjust.

Doubtless these facts are in a great degree exaggerated, and may be ascribed to a mistaken view of the considerations which led to the adoption of the tariff system; but they are nevertheless important in enabling us to review the subject with a more thorough knowledge of all its bearings upon the great interests of the Republic, and with a determination to dispose of it so that none can with justice complain.

It is my painful duty to state that in one quarter of the United States opposition to the revenue laws has arisen to a height which threatens to thwart their execution, if not to endanger the integrity of the Union. Whatever obstructions may be thrown in the way of the judicial authorities of the general Government, it is hoped they will be able peaceably to overcome them by the prudence of their own officers and the patriotism of the people. But should this reasonable reliance on the moderation and good sense of all portions of our fellow-citizens be disappointed, it is believed that the laws themselves are fully adequate to the suppression of such attempts as may be immediately made. Should the exigency arise rendering the execution of the existing laws impracticable from any cause whatever, prompt notice of it will be given to Congress, with the suggestion of such views and measures as may be deemed necessary to meet it.

In conformity with the principles heretofore explained, and with the hope of reducing the general Government to that simple machine which the constitution created, and of withdrawing from the States all other influence than that of its universal beneficence in preserving peace, affording a uniform currency, maintaining the inviolability of contracts, diffusing intelligence, and discharging unfelt its other superintending functions, I recommend that provision be made to dispose of all stocks now held by it in corporations, whether created by the general or state Governments, and placing the proceeds in the Treasury. As a source of profit these stocks are of little or no value; as a means of influence among the States, they are adverse to the purity of our institutions. The whole principle on which they are based is deemed by many unconstitutional, and to persist in the policy which they indicate is considered wholly inexpedient.

It is my duty to acquaint you with an arrangement made by the Bank of the United States with a portion of the holders of the 3 per cent. stock, by which the Government will be deprived of the use of the public funds longer than was anticipated. By this arrangement, which will be particularly explained by the Secretary of the Treasury, a surrender of the certificates of this stock may be postponed until October, 1833; and thus the liability of the Government after its ability to discharge the debt may be continued by the failure of the Bank to perform its duties.

Such measures as are within the reach of the Secretary of the Treasury have been taken to enable him to judge whether the public deposits in that institution may be regarded as entirely safe; but as his limited power may prove inadequate to this object, I recommended the subject to the attention of Congress, under the firm belief that it is worthy of their serious investigation. An inquiry into the transactions of the institution, embracing the branches as well as the principal banks, seems called for by the credit which is given throughout the country to many serious charges impeaching its character, and which, if true, may justly excite the apprehension that it is no longer a safe depository of the money of the people.

Among the interests which merit the consideration of Congress after the payment of the public debt, one of the most important, in my view, is that of the public lands. Previous to the formation of our present constitution, it was recommended by Congress that a portion of the waste lands owned by the States should be ceded to the United States, for the purpose of general harmony, and as a fund to meet the expenses of the war. The recommendation was adopted, and at different periods of time the States of Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, granted their vacant lands for the uses for which they had been asked. As the lands may now be considered as relieved from this pledge, the object for which they were ceded having been accomplished, it is in the discretion of Congress to dispose of them in such way as best to conduce to the quiet, harmony, and general interest of the American people. In examining this question, all local and sectional feelings should be discarded, and the whole United States regarded as one people, interested alike in the prosperity of their common country.

It cannot be doubted that the speedy settlement of these lands constitutes the true interests of the republic. The wealth and strength of a country are its population, and the best part of that population are the cultivators of the soil. Independent farmers are every where the basis of society and true friends of liberty.

In addition to these considerations, questions have already arisen, and may be expected hereafter to grow out of the public

lands, which involve the rights of the new States, and the powers of the general Government; and unless a liberal policy be now adopted, there is danger that these questions may speedily assume an importance not now generally anticipated. The influence of a great sectional interest, when brought into full action, will be found more dangerous to the harmony and union of the States than any other cause of discontent, and it is the part of wisdom and sound policy to see its approaches, and endeavour, if possible, to counteract them.

Of the various schemes which have been hitherto proposed in regard to the disposal of the public lands, none has yet received the entire approbation of the national legislature. Deeply impressed with the importance of a speedy satisfactory arrangement of the subject, I deem it my duty on this occasion to urge it upon your consideration, and to the propositions which have been hitherto suggested by others to contribute those reflections which have occurred to me, in the hope that they may assist you in your future deliberations.

It seems to me to be our true policy that the public lands shall cease as soon as practicable to be a source of revenue, and that they be sold to settlers in limited parcels at a price barely sufficient to reimburse to the United States the expense of the present system and the cost arising under our Indian compacts. The advantages of accurate surveys and undoubted titles, now secured to purchasers, seem to forbid the abolition of the present system, because none can be substituted which will more perfectly accomplish those important ends. It is desirable, however, that in convenient time this machinery be withdrawn from the States, and that the right of soil and the future disposition of it, be surrendered to the States respectively in which it lies.

The adventurous and hardy population of the West, besides contributing their equal share of taxation under our impost system, have in the progress of our Government, for the lands they occupy, paid into the Treasury a large proportion of forty millions of dollars, and of the revenue received therefrom, but a small part has been expended amongst them. When, to the disadvantage of their situation in this respect, we add the consideration that it is their labour alone which gives real value to the lands, that the proceeds arising from their sale are distributed chiefly among States which had not originally any claim to them, and which have enjoyed the undivided emolument arising from the sale of their own lands, it cannot be expected that the new States will remain longer contented with the present policy after the payment of the public debt. To avert the consequences which may be apprehended from this cause, to put an end for ever to all partial and interested legislation on this subject, and to afford to every American citizen of enterprise the opportunity of securing an independent freehold, it seems to me, therefore, best to abandon the idea of

raising a further revenue out of the public lands.

In former messages I have expressed my conviction that the constitution does not warrant the application of the funds of the general government to objects of internal improvement which are not national in their character, and both as a means of doing justice to all interests and putting an end to a course of legislation calculated to destroy the purity of the Government, have urged the necessity of reducing the whole subject to some fixed and certain rule. As a period, perhaps, never will occur more propitious than the present to the accomplishment of this object, I beg leave to press the subject again upon your attention.

Without some general and well-defined principles, ascertaining those objects of internal improvement to which the means of the nation may be constitutionally applied, it is obvious that the exercise of the power can never be satisfactory. Besides the danger to which it exposes Congress of making hasty appropriations to works of the character of which they may be frequently ignorant, it promotes a mischievous and corrupting influence upon elections, by holding out to the people the fallacious hope that the success of a certain candidate will make navigable their neighbouring creek or river, bring commerce to their doors, and increase the value of their property. It thus favours combinations to squander the treasure of the country upon a multitude of local objects, as fatal to just legislation as to the purity of public men.

If a system compatible with the constitution cannot be devised which is free from such tendencies, we should recollect that the instrument provides within itself the mode of its amendment, and that there is, therefore, no excuse for the assumption of the doubtful powers by the general government. If those which are clearly granted shall be found incompetent to the ends of its creation, it can at any time apply for their enlargement; and there is no probability that such an application, if founded on the public interest, will ever be refused. If the property of the proposed grant be not sufficiently apparent to command the assent of three-fourths of the States, the best possible reason why the power should not be assumed on doubtful authority is afforded; for if more than one-fourth of the States are unwilling to make the grant, its exercise will be productive of discontents which will far overbalance any advantages that could be derived from it. All must admit that there is nothing so worthy of the constant solicitude of this Government as the harmony and union of the people.

Being solemnly impressed with the conviction that the extension of the power to make internal improvements beyond the limit I have suggested, if it be deemed constitutional, is subversive of the best interests of our country, I earnestly recommend to Congress to refrain from its exercise in doubtful cases, except in relation to improvements already begun,

unless they shall first procure from the States such an amendment of the constitution as will define its character and prescribe its bounds. If the States feel themselves competent to these objects, why should this Government wish to assume the power? If they do not, then they will not hesitate to make the grant. Both Governments are the Governments of the people, and if the money can be collected and applied by those more simple and economical political machines, the State Governments, it will unquestionably be safer and better for the people than to add to the splendour, the patronage, and the power of the general Government. But if the people of the several States think otherwise, they will amend the constitution, and in their decision all ought cheerfully to acquiesce.

For a detailed and highly satisfactory view of the operations of the war department I refer you to the accompanying report of the Secretary at War.

The hostile incursions of the Sac and Fox Indians, necessarily led to the interposition of the Government. A portion of the troops under Generals Scot and Atkinson, and of the militia of the state of Illinois, were called into the field. After a harassing warfare, prolonged by the nature of the country and by the difficulty of procuring subsistence, the Indians were entirely defeated, and the disaffected band dispersed or destroyed. The result has been creditable to the troops engaged in the service. Severe as is the lesson to the Indians, it was rendered necessary by their unprovoked aggressions; and it is to be hoped that its impression will be permanent and salutary.

This campaign has evinced the efficient organization of the army, and its capacity for prompt and active service. Its several departments have performed their functions with energy and dispatch, and the general movement was satisfactory.

Our fellow-citizens upon the frontiers were ready, as they always are, in the tender of their services in the hour of danger; but a more efficient organization of our militia system is essential to that security which is one of the principal objects of all governments. Neither our situation nor our institutions require or permit the maintenance of a large regular force. History offers too many lessons of the fatal result of such a measure not to warn us against its adoption here. The expense which attends it, the obvious tendency to employ it because it exists, and thus to engage in unnecessary wars, and its ultimate danger to public liberty, will lead us, I trust, to place our principal dependence for protection upon the great body of the citizens of the republic. If in asserting rights or in repelling wrongs war should come upon us, our regular force should be increased to an extent proportioned to the emergency, and our present small army is a nucleus around which such force should be formed and embodied. But for the purposes of defence under ordinary circumstances we

must rely upon the electors of the country ; those by whom, and for whom, the Government was instituted and is supported, will constitute its protection, in the hour of danger, as they do its check in the hour of safety.

But it is obvious that the militia system is imperfect. Much time is lost, much unnecessary expense incurred, and much public property wasted, under the present arrangement. Little useful knowledge is gained by the musters and drills as now established, and the whole subject evidently requires a thorough examination. Whether a plan of classification remedying these defects, and providing for a system of instruction might not be adopted is submitted to the consideration of Congress. The constitution has vested in the general Government an independent authority upon the subject of the militia, which renders its action essential to the establishment or improvement of the system ; and I recommend the matter to your consideration, in the conviction that the state of this important arm of the public defence requires your attention.

I am happy to inform you, that the wise and humane policy of transferring from the eastern to the western side of the Mississippi the remnants of our aboriginal tribes, with their own consent, and upon just terms, has been steadily pursued, and is approaching, I trust, its consummation. By reference to the report of the Secretary at War, and to the documents submitted with it, you will see the progress which has been made since your last session in the arrangement of the various matters connected with our Indian relations. With one exception, every subject involving any question of conflicting jurisdiction, or of peculiar difficulty, has been happily disposed of, and the conviction evidently gains ground among the Indians, that their removal to the country assigned by the United States for their permanent residence, furnishes the only hope of their ultimate prosperity.

With that portion of the Cherokees, however, living within the State of Georgia, it has been found impracticable as yet, to make a satisfactory adjustment.—Such was my anxiety to remove all the grounds of complaint, and to bring to a termination the difficulties in which they are involved, that I directed the very liberal propositions to be made to them which accompany the documents herewith submitted. They cannot but have seen in these offers the evidence of the strongest disposition on the part of the Government to deal justly and liberally with them. An ample indemnity was offered for their possessions, a liberal provision for their future support and improvement, and full security for their private and political rights. Whatever difference of opinion may have prevailed respecting the just claims of these people, there will probably be none respecting the liberality of the propositions, and very little respecting the expediency of their immediate acceptance. They were, however, rejected, and thus the position

of these Indians remains unchanged, as do my views communicated in my message to the Senate of February, 1831.

I refer you to the annual report of the Secretary of the Navy, which accompanies this message, for a detail of the operation of that branch of the service during the present year.

Besides the general remarks on some of the transactions of our navy, presented in the view which has been taken of our foreign relations, I seize this occasion to invite to your notice the increased protection which it has afforded to our commerce and citizens on distant seas, without any augmentation of the force in commission. In the gradual improvement of its pecuniary concerns, in the constant progress in the collection of materials suitable for use during future emergencies, and in the construction of vessels and the buildings necessary to their preservation and repair, the present state of this branch of the service exhibits the fruits of that vigilance and care which are so indispensable to its efficiency. Various new suggestions contained in the annexed report, as well as others heretofore submitted to Congress, are worthy of your attention ; but none more so than that urging the renewal for another term of six years of the general appropriation for the gradual improvement of the navy.

From the accompanying report of the Postmaster-General, you will also perceive that his department continues to extend its usefulness without impairing its resources or lessening the accommodation which it affords in the secure and rapid transportation of the mail.

I beg leave to call the attention of Congress to the views heretofore expressed in relation to the mode of choosing the President and Vice-President of the United States, and to those respecting the tenure of office generally. Still impressed with the justness of those views, and with the belief that the modifications suggested on those subjects, if adopted, will contribute to the prosperity and harmony of the country, I earnestly recommend them to your consideration at this time.

I have heretofore pointed out defects in the law for punishing official frauds, especially within the district of Columbia. It has been found almost impossible to bring notorious culprits to punishment, and according to a decision of the Court for this district, a prosecution is barred by a lapse of two years after the fraud has been committed. It may happen again, as it has already happened, that during the whole two years all the evidences of the fraud may be in the possession of the culprit himself. However proper the limitation may be in relation to private citizens, it would seem that it ought not to commence running in favour of public officers until they got out of office.

The judiciary system of the United States remains imperfect. Of the nine western and southern States three only enjoy the benefit of a circuit court. Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee are embraced in the general system ;

Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, have only district courts. If the existing system be a good one, why should it not be extended? If it be a bad one, why is it suffered to exist? The new states were promised equal rights and equal privileges when they came into the Union, and such are guarantees of the constitution. Nothing can be more obvious than the obligation of the general Government to place all the states on the same footing in relation to the administration of justice, and I trust this duty will be neglected no longer.

On many of the subjects to which your attention is invited in this communication, it is a source of gratification to reflect that the steps to be now adopted are uninfluenced by the embarrassments entailed upon the country by the wars through which it has passed. In regard to most of our great interests, we may consider ourselves as just starting in our career, and, after a salutary experience, about to lay on a permanent basis the policy best calculated to promote the happiness of the people and facilitate their progress towards the most complete enjoyment of civil liberty. On an occasion so interesting and important in our history, and of such anxious concern to the friends of freedom throughout the world, it is our imperious duty to lay aside all selfish and local considerations, and be guided by a lofty spirit of devotion to the great principles on which our institutions are founded.

That this Government be so administered as to preserve its efficacy in promoting and securing these general objects should be the only aim of our ambition, and we cannot, therefore, too carefully examine its structure, in order that we may not mistake its powers, or assume those which the people have reserved to themselves or have preferred to assign to their agents. We should bear constantly in mind the fact that the considerations which induced the framers of the constitution to withhold from the general Government the power to regulate the great mass of the business and concerns of the people, have been fully justified by experience; and that it cannot now be doubted that the genius of all our institutions prescribes simplicity and economy as the characteristics of the reform which is yet to be effected in the present and future execution of the functions bestowed upon us by the constitution.

Limited to a general superintending power to maintain peace at home and abroad, and to prescribe laws on a few subjects of general interest, not calculated to restrict human liberty but to enforce human rights, this Government will find its strength and its glory in the faithful discharge of these plain and simple duties. Relieved by its protecting shield from the fear of war and the apprehension of oppression, the free enterprise of our citizens, aided by the state sovereignties, will work out improvements and ameliorations which cannot fail to demonstrate that the great truth that the people can govern themselves is not only real-

ized in our example, but that it is done by a machinery in government so simple and economical as scarcely to be felt. That the Almighty Ruler of the universe may so direct our deliberations and overrule our acts as to make us instrumental in securing a result so dear to mankind, is my most earnest and sincere prayer.

Dec. 4.

ANDREW JACKSON.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JAN. 4, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

TIDSWELL, T., and T. Thorp, Chester, calico-printers.

BANKRUPTS.

ASHTON, W., Birmingham, grocer.

BRAY, C., Theobald's-road, coach-maker.

DULCKEN, T. A., Edward-street, Portman-square, merchant.

JACKSON, M., Sheffield, grocer.

LANDELLS, J. and W. G., Gateshead, Durham, wholesale haberdashers.

M'FARREN, G., London-street, Middlesex, bookseller.

STADDERS, J., Burnley, Lancashire, draper.

STOVELL, G., and R. H. Maddox, Lower Grosvenor-st., Hanover-sq., upholsterers.

WILSON, J., Bolton, Lancashire, timber-dealer.

WOMACK, J., Leeds, livery-stable-keeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BUDGE, D., Dundee, innkeeper.

DOW, A., Edinburgh, silk-mercant.

HUME, J., Carolside, Berwick, cattle-dealer.

TUESDAY, JAN. 8, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HUXTABLE, J., Bristol, corn-factor.

BANKRUPTS.

CHAPPLE, W., and W. Snow, Oxford-street, tailors.

CLARK, R., Norbury, Dorsetshire, miller.

HANCOCK, C., Hillingdon, near Uxbridge, brick-maker.

HARDCASTLE, T., Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, chemist.

HARRISON, W., Portsmouth, printer.

PORTER, J., Carnaby-street, Regent-street,
cheesemonger.
TYDEMAN, W., Great Yarmouth, Norfolk,
saddle-maker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

COUSTON, W., Leith, grocer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Jan. 7.—
We had a fair supply of Essex and Kentish
wheat fresh up to this morning's market. Of
Suffolk the receipts were only moderate. The
frosty weather improved rather the condition
of the samples, although several were still
damp and inferior. The better descriptions
were taken off hand rather more freely by the
millers, and we observed also one or two pur-
chasers from Yorkshire. We do not note any
positive advance in the quotations, yet pur-
chases could not be effected on so good terms
as this day week. Sweet fine old wheat was
in request, and held at higher rates, and for a
fine parcel of Danzig 68s. were refused. In
bonded corn no business transacting.

There was a good arrival of barley. The
best malting qualities supported their former
currency, but all stained and secondary sorts,
as well as distilling and grinding samples,
were difficult to quit at 1s. decline.

Malt very dull sale, and lower than last
week.

The supply of oats was limited. The article
experienced a good sale at fully Friday's
prices, and was in some instances the turn
dearer.

Beans, both old and new, hung heavily on
hand, and were, if anything, rather cheaper.

Peas—white, maple, and grey—supported
their quotations, although the demand was
extremely limited.

Wheat	54s. to 60s.
Rye	33s. to 50s.
Barley	23s. to 24s.
— fine	32s. to 33s.
Peas, White	32s. to 34s.
— Boilers	38s. to 42s.
— Grey	34s. to 35s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	30s. to 31s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	16s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.
— Sides, new ... 44s. to 48s.
Pork, India, new ... 127s. 0d. to —s.
— Mess, new ... 80s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ... 84s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow ... 82s. to 88s.

— Cork	80s. to 82s.
— Limerick	80s. to 82s.
— Waterford	78s. to 80s.
— Dublin	76s. to 78s.
Cheese, Cheshire	50s. to 78s.
— Gloucester, Double	46s. to 60s.
— Gloucester, Single	44s. to 50s.
— Edam	48s. to 50s.
— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 66s.

SMITHFIELD.—Jan. 7.

This day's supply of beasts was tolerable
good; the supply of sheep, calves, and pigs
was, but limited. The trade was, with each
kind of meat, rather dull, at barely Friday's
quotations.

Full three-fifths of the beasts consisted
about equal numbers of short-horns, Devon
and Irish beasts, for the most part steers and
oxen, with some cows and heifers, and Welsh
runt, principally from Lincolnshire, Leice-
stershire, Northamptonshire, and the western
districts; the remainder about equal number
of Scots, Herefords, and Town's-end cows, with
a few Staffords, &c., from various quarters.

About three-fifths of the sheep appeared
to be new Leicesters, of the South Down and
different white-faced crosses, in the proportion
of about one of the former to three of the
latter; the remainder about equal numbers
of South Downs, Kents, and Kentish half-bred
with a few horned and polled Norfolks, horned
Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and
Welsh sheep, horned Dorsets, &c.

Beasts, 2,755; sheep, 17,600; calves, 180;
pigs, 130.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 11.

The arrivals this week are fair. The market
dull at the prices of Monday.

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On the 1. of February will appear
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